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ABOUT fifty amendments were made to the peace treaty last week by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, all relating to participation by the United States in commission control of Germany. Their purpose is to withdraw the United States from such participation, except in the case of the Reparations Commission, which the Committee thinks should include American representation. Meanwhile, discussion of the Shantung question goes on. Certain business interests are now engaged in advocating Japan's claims on the ground of expediency. They say that unless those claims are supported, the United States will be confronted with serious difficulties in future attempts to do business in the Far East; that heavy interests in the East are already perilously involved—and so forth and so on. In plain words, it amounts to saying that the business operations of our citizens are conditioned on the Senate's acquiescence in a particularly gross and flagrant theft, and that the Senate should therefore acquiesce. The President has given such a handsome example of acquiescence that these interests are encouraged to hope that the Senate may emulate him. Senator Knox, on Friday, made a strong, sensible, and admirable speech against the treaty, proposing the only course that common honesty can at present indicate—that the whole disreputable contrivance be incontinently pitchforked overboard and that Congress declare the state of war with Germany at an end. This seems to us the only course whereby the honor of the United States can be rescued from hands that have too long been permitted to play fast and loose with it.

WE observe with interest that Representative Wood introduced a resolution in the House last week, protesting against the War Department's action in sending two regiments to do police duty in Silesia, where there is a coal-strike which threatens railway operation throughout Central Europe. It will be remembered that Mr. Bertrand Russell got a sentence of six months in an English jail for saying that after the war our American troops would be put to just this kind of service—to which, he added, truthfully enough, they are quite accustomed. The War Department was for dispatching these strikebreakers surreptitiously, according to Mr. Wood, but was somehow "smoked out." Secretary Baker, on the 29th, assured the House Foreign Affairs Committee that no American troops would be sent to Silesia; but then, he also assured them that American forces are not being held in Siberia to protect any financial interests, and that our troops are not assisting Kolchak. Yet the very day before, he was quoted as saying that American troops would be sent to Silesia; and explained that it was at the express command of General Foch, who "has complete authority of (*sic*) the Allied forces and can designate the required number to carry out any provision of the armistice." The Secretary's friends used to complain that he was devoid of humor, and from this exhibit we judge they are right. Commenting on this remarkable incident, Senator Johnson hits the nail squarely on the head. He says:

> This morning's news visualizes the League of Nations for all except those who have eyes and see not, ears and hear not. We read today of: American boys fighting an undeclared and undisclosed war in Siberia; American boys sent into Silesia; American boys alleged to have been cruelly treated in Dalmatia; American boys to remain upon the Rhine for fifteen years. All this was ordered in secret, not in the United States, but in Paris, where we had one vote out of five. The logic of events demonstrates what the League of Nations is for—to have America underwrite the peace treaty in which are interwoven the secret treaties disposing of the world among the Allies, which were hidden from us during the war.

ALL recent information indicates the gradual crumbling of Russian military opposition to the Soviet forces. The Kolchak armies have been driven back into Siberia, and the doughty admiral is now reported to have abandoned Omsk; matters on the Archangel front have not gone prosperously for the anti-Bolsheviks; southwest of Petrograd Pskov has during the past week fallen to the Reds. Only in the south has that sterling democrat, General Denikin, continued to make progress against the Red armies, and all lovers of law and order were recently gratified at the announcement that the British fleet had bombarded Odessa for

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two days, following which happy event the city was occupied by Allied and Russian forces. But now, just as the hopes of all democrats were coming to centre on General Denikin and his Cossacks, we receive word that the Bolsheviki have taken from him Kupiansk, sixty-one miles southeast of Kharkov, and Sugja and Obojan, eighty miles northwest and north; Pavlovsk, on the Don River; and Kamishin, 120 miles southwest of Saratov, on the Volga; and that they are advancing on Tsaritsin, a hundred miles farther south. General Denikin seems only too likely to go the way of Admiral Kolchak. In view of this brilliant military situation, the latest report is that the British Government is sending a strong fleet to operate in the Baltic with the idea of taking Petrograd—whereupon, of course, all the Russians will flock to the Allied standards. Washington informs us that Ambassador Morris declares the Kolchak Government on the verge of collapse—and accordingly recommends its immediate recognition, with a view to the moral effect of such action on the soldiers and population in Siberia. The proceedings of our Government are beyond our comprehension. Secretary Baker explains that American troops in Siberia are strictly neutral, at the same time admits that we have sold arms and munitions to Kolchak, and declares that he does not know of a Soviet Government (officially, no doubt). British and French troops, he states, are participating actively in the Kolchak campaign. Is there not ingenuity and power enough in the Congress to compel the Administration to bring home from Siberia the American troops that it now holds there without warrant of law, and to extract from it at least some attempt at explanation of what it is trying to do in Russia?

THE announcement, which many students of Eastern political relations have been expecting ever since the Shantung decision, was made on August 27 by the State Department that Paul S. Reinsch, our Minister to China, had resigned. It is good news, for his position was untenable. According to all accounts, the Administration allowed him to give positive assurance to the Chinese that the United States Government would stand absolutely by the principles which the President had laid down. When the Shantung decision made clear the kind of reed he was leaning on, he seems at once to have decided that the respect of the Chinese was preferable to a diplomatic career, and accordingly resigned. The usual ground of ill health is officially assigned for Mr. Reinsch's resignation, and may incidentally be justified by the circumstances—there would be nothing surprising about that. Still, reports show that he made his position abundantly clear on the kind of treatment China had received, not only to the Chinese but to his colleagues in the diplomatic corps. We hope he will come home free from the strange superstition of secrecy that overcomes most persons in his position—that notably and almost incredibly overcame Mr. Raymond Robins, for instance, and held him so long under its vicious spell after he came back from Russia. We trust that Mr. Reinsch will forego every other occupation long enough to speak his mind fully and freely about China, and back up what he says with chapter and verse. Reverence for the business of diplomacy is overplayed and played out; what is needed is some good plain speaking from the few who have revolted at its detestable exactions—and from no quarter is it more needed than from that represented by Mr. Reinsch. We await his return with interest.

FROM Chile there comes the report of a demonstration in Santiago by 80,000 workmen and students. They asked the Government to augment production, form a food administration, stabilize money, and bring about better economic conditions for working men. Similar meetings were held throughout the country, but wholly without disorder. The uprising of labor all over the world and its apparent disinclination to violence are deserving of careful note.

OUR own labor situation appears for the time being slightly less strained, with the shopmen's strike postponed for ninety days in order to give the President a chance to lower the cost of living (we wish him joy in the task); with the Pacific Coast railroad strike ended by the Administration's threat to use the whole power of the Federal Government, if necessary, to break the strike; with the conservative leaders of the American Federation standing solidly behind the Government; and with the President announcing on Labor Day a conference to "discuss fundamental means of bettering the whole relationship of capital and labor, and putting the whole question of wages upon another footing." Persons aware of Mr. Wilson's genius for words without action will probably not be unduly impressed, though the idea of such a conference is an excellent one. The situation is certainly serious enough. *The World* (New York) last week tabulated sixty-five strikes, involving 300,000 persons, in twenty different States. The rank and file are breaking away from the leaders, just as they have done in Great Britain. The Steel Corporation, through Judge Gary, flatly refuses to meet a committee of labor men under the leadership of John Fitzpatrick, who has been leading the movement to organize the steel workers. Judge Gary's letter takes a square stand for the open shop; in addition, it is a declaration of industrial feudalism (albeit benevolent) such as might well have been penned by an ignorant employer in the economic dark ages. No conclusion seems possible except that suggested by *The Iron Trade Review*, that the employers welcome "a demonstration of the claims of strength of the union organizers." If it be true, as reported, that the authorities in Washington have decided that the time has come to take a firm stand against further demands on the part of labor, and if Mr. Gompers and his associates are to continue hand-in-glove with the Government, as appears to be their purpose, there are likely to be interesting developments in the American labor situation during the next few months.

THE split within the ranks of labor is already abundantly clear. The Minnesota Federation of Labor at its recent meeting actually endorsed the Russian Soviet Government, and refused to support the Paris League of Nations, though the newspapers paid no attention to its action. The New York Federation of Labor has also been demanding a revision of the treaty. Most important and significant, however, because it goes to fundamentals, is the course of the more intelligent advocates of the Plumb Plan. Speaking at Richmond on Sunday, Mr. Plumb declared:

> The President's whole argument to the shop men is based on the assumption that he will succeed in lowering the cost of living. From my own analysis of the economic situation, I cannot have faith in the measures which he so far has proposed. They appear to be more in the nature of temporary ameliorations than that of permanent remedies. He is ignoring, so far as I can see,

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the economic truth that the underlying cause of the depreciation of money value is the expansion of currency and the inflation of credit the world over, as a result of the financial operations of the war. . . . Wall Street, as receiver for a bankrupt Europe, is selfishly concerned in keeping up this inflation, for our hazardous European investments are protected only if Europe pays exorbitant prices for what we sell, and if we ourselves will bear the burden of the exorbitant rates together with the foreign purchaser. . . . The directors of this economic state . . . think primarily of profit-making, and only secondarily of production. They do not run the economic state efficiently, or make it produce anywhere near its maximum. Their chief task is to increase the burden of overhead charges. This condition cannot endure into the future.

In an address at Philadelphia on Labor Day Mr. Plumb welcomed the President's scheme for an industrial conference, at the same time insisting on the capital point that the Brotherhoods' railroad plan promised a reduction of rates through a gradual elimination of the existing capital account. He characterized the property investment account of the roads as "nothing but a whited sepulchre, full of corruption and dead men's bones." It will be interesting to see whether Messrs. Wilson and Gompers can keep their proposed conference running along safe and sane lines, or whether some of its members will insist on getting down to a discussion of really important things. Mr. Gompers is in a sad way, with Secretary Morrison of the American Federation issuing a statement on the whole favorable to both the Plumb Plan and the declaration of the mine workers' policy committee in favor of nationalization of mines under democratic control.

JAMES H. MAURER, Chairman of the Old Age Pension Commission of the State of Pennsylvania, and A. Epstein, a fellow-member of the Commission, were authorized by the Legislature of Pennsylvania to proceed abroad for the study of various pension systems in use in Europe. They obtained passports and took passage on the steamer Lapland. Three minutes before the steamer sailed they were taken off by Federal agents; and it is reported that their passports, which were formally viséd by the British consul-general, have been cancelled by the State Department. This affair opens the possibility of a rather serious disagreement between the State Department and the authorities of Pennsylvania. The newspapers state that the Department of Justice turned up a letter from Mr. Maurer saying that he was glad he was going to get the chance to study Bolshevism at first hand; and this seems to be the only clue to the behavior of the Federal agents in his case. The Secretary of State, as usual under such circumstances, said he had no information and no knowledge of any such order being given. It is not surprising that the officials of Pennsylvania are interesting themselves in the matter. Centralization of power has proceeded a long way, and established usages of comity have got pretty far into the background, when a State Commissioner, bearing special introductions and commendations from Governor Sproul, can be hauled off a steamer on the point of departure by Federal authority. We trust that the State of Pennsylvania will find a way of expressing a substantial resentment against this cool procedure.

PREPARATIONS for involving us in war with Mexico proceed in orthodox fashion. Our "punitive expedition" is withdrawn after losing the trail of the bandits on account of a heavy rain; having already succeeded, however, in killing several Mexicans, calling forth a protest from the Government, and rousing the press and people to a high pitch. Our aviators continue to fly over Mexican territory and to get lost occasionally. Our newspapers teem with reports of disorder and outrage within the borders of our southern neighbor. The National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico gives out a story by "Dr. Paul Bernardo Altendorf, a Pole, who has lived in Mexico since 1914, and for twenty months was an agent there of the Military Intelligence Department of the United States, while he posed as a German agent and became a colonel in a Carranza army, which he says was raised to invade the United States in July, 1918." (Have we not somewhere heard of foreign spies in the United States while we were still at peace?) This veracious individual, though some of the horrors of his report are withheld at request of the Military Intelligence Department, gets a column in a metropolitan daily to give the harrowing details of ruin in Mexico, which country is "nothing more than an agglomeration of anarchist gangs who kill and plunder with no restraint but their own caprices." A two-inch item buried in the inside pages of the same paper tells of the presentation to President Carranza by American residents of Durango of a letter "written by nearly a thousand Americans stating that they were against intervention in any form and could not see a reason for it now as conditions were much better." Washington dispatches inform us that "coincident with plans which are being made to meet the inevitable emergency of American intervention in Mexico, efforts are being made to impress the Mexicans with the benevolent intentions of the United States." This surely ought to be easy, especially in view of Secretary Baker's official declaration, in demanding 18,000 officers for the regular army, that conditions of which the public has knowledge make it important that a thorough state of efficiency in the American army be reached with as little delay as possible.

THIS next war has at any rate the merit of being frank thus far. The oil interests keep up a steady bombardment, concentrating their heaviest artillery on Article 27 of the new Constitution, nationalizing oil and mineral rights. The application of this section is now under consideration by the Mexican Congress, and a sharp contest over its retroactive features appears imminent. Meanwhile Kuhn, Loeb & Co. invest £6,000,000 in Shell Oil stock, we are informed from London, and the shares of Mexican oil companies rise violently on the exchange in Mexico City. President Carranza has by decree provided for the establishment of mixed commissions with foreign Powers to adjust claims by the citizens of such Powers, for losses not only during the two revolutions, but since the establishment of the present Government on May 1, 1917, if such damage is found to be due to negligence on the part of the constituted authorities. The Mexican President has steered his way skilfully amid many difficulties in the past; he will have need of all his resourcefulness now.

IN the interest of strict accuracy we desire to call attention to a proof error in the editorial article, The Innocent Abroad, published in last week's issue of *The Nation*. The thirty-sixth line of the second column of page 272 should refer to the price exacted by Rumania, not Rome, for entering the war.

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The President on Trial

THE President has at last descended from the rarefied air of international abstractions, and vouchsafed to his waiting countrymen one bit of concrete advice concerning the most urgent practical problem confronting some tens of millions of us, namely, the high cost of living and the method of getting pay enough to meet it. He informs us that "the cost of living has certainly reached its peak, and will probably be lowered by the efforts which are now everywhere being concerted and carried out." Moreover, he avers truly enough that further wage increases will only result in higher costs of production and prices, thus moving in a vicious circle. He accordingly urges the railway workers to be content with their wages, and "to postpone questions of this sort till normal conditions come again." He asks every citizen to "insist upon a truce in such contests until intelligent settlements can be made, and made by peaceful and effective common counsel." "Demands unwisely made and passionately insisted upon at this time menace the peace and prosperity of the country as nothing else could." Like his colleague the British Premier, the President urges that "only by keeping the cost of production on its present level, by increasing production, and by rigid economy on the part of the people can we hope for large decreases in the burdensome cost of living which now weighs us down."

It is sound doctrine enough, so far as it goes, and we trust that the President will practice his own principles of economy at Washington, where of all places in the country they are most needed at this very difficult time. The trouble with the President's preachment is not its unsoundness, but its utter inadequacy. It does not pay the bills or offer any promise of paying them. It does not buy shoes for the baby or settle for flour at fifteen dollars a barrel. The President says in effect to this people whom he led into the war: "Work and save as of yore, and carry the war debt on your back beside; pile up again store of goods to replace those you have destroyed in the war, in order that those may enjoy who enjoyed before, and all may be as it once was. As for the present mushroom growth of prices, I am cutting that down with my little hatchet of jail-for-profiteers." But the people, if we mistake not, are determined that all is not to be as once it was. The President is on trial for his political life, and his first plea is at bottom a mere confession of bankruptcy. He is remonstrating with a volcano; many an earlier argufier has gone up in smoke. Surely he does not expect us to believe that he is going to produce any serious result by the fifteenth-century device of jailing profiteers—which seems to be about the limit of his practical programme. The people want economic freedom; they cannot get it without fundamental economic readjustments. The President and every other public man must tell us where he stands in regard to each of them, if he would be saved from political oblivion; for until they are made the cost-of-living problem will not be solved. Let us have honest, clean-cut economic thinking.

The country's transportation system has broken down; by universal consent the old scheme is destined for the scrapheap. The Brotherhoods come forward with an ingenious plan, and present substantial reasons why they believe it will reduce transportation costs. Their startled critics reply with invective and with alternative schemes in which the protection of profits looms large. Let the President, let every would-be leader tell us just where he stands on the Plumb plan and the other plans. Then we can judge whether in this particular he will help us reduce the cost of living.

Our marketing and storage system is a chaos; the world is full of examples of organized coöperative and public marketing arrangements that cut out the wastes. Have the President and his associates heard of them? Do they propose to cut living costs by developing anything similar here?

The value of farm land in the United States rose from thirteen billion dollars in 1900 to nearly twenty-eight and a half billions in 1910; its growth since that date no one knows, but it must be almost unexampled. The President doubtless knows that this entire increase represents the capitalized value of the increased rent of farm land, to say nothing of the vast enhancement of urban land rents, the growth of royalties on coal, iron, and all other mineral treasures, and the rise of stumpage on forest land. It is simply silly, no less, to discuss the cost of living without taking these charges into account. What does the President propose to do about it? Simply wait?

Our labor situation is intolerable, impossible. Production is kept down by unavowed sabotage of labor and capital alike, based on mutual suspicion and fear. And now the workers have reached the point where they no longer, in many cases, trust even the leaders of their own organizations. Witness the Pacific Coast railroad strikes. Witness the perplexity of Samuel Gompers. Will the President offer us one suggestion to remove the distrust and take the brake off the machinery of production? Preaching will not do it; it requires brains and a plan.

During the war the machinery of finance worked overtime to expand currency and credit; gold ceased to be the money of "civilization"; and to state but one phase of the matter, money in circulation increased from $34.55 per capita in 1914 to more than $50 at this time. To quote a felicitous phrase emanating from the official Council of National Defence, "the cost of living in this country can never be reduced until peace production has increased to such a point that it is at least somewhat comparable to the amount of money loose in the country." Has the President any idea how to correct the evils of our financial situation?

And finally, the President doubtless knows that the war has bowed the backs of the world's workers beneath a debt burden of two hundred billion dollars. The annual interest on this huge sum drags down industry as the ball and chain drag down the convict. Will the President and his Paris colleagues tell us frankly what they propose to do about it? Will they tell us honestly whether their League of Nations, with its militaristic framework, built after the specifications of international finance, is designed to keep the peoples forever rolling this stone uphill? If so, we shall not escape our share of the Sisyphus-task, and another large element in the high cost of living will prove permanent.

We raise these questions, not for the sake of criticism; we are weary of criticizing. We raise them because these problems, and others like them, must be solved if the cost of living is to go down, and the world is once more to be-

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come a good place for little children to be born into. The people have been patient since the days when Pharaoh bade them make bricks without straw; they are willing to be patient still, provided only those who preach patience will at the same time propound real and not sham solutions for the real problems that confront them. But the President should be advised that not only is the self-restraint of the American people on trial; he himself is on trial before the high court of industrial democracy, and by his deeds he must answer.

A New Motive in Industry

IT sounds across the whole industrial arena, the trumpet call of a new idea—the conception of our industry as a great self-governing democracy of organized public service. We have endeavored, we hope successfully, to outline the true foundation for such a consummation, namely: freedom and security for initiative and enterprise; complete removal of the fear of unemployment; salaries to management commensurate with ability; hire of capital at the market rate of good securities; provision of common services controlled by the whole industry and financed from its surplus earnings. . . . We would again lay special emphasis upon the keynote of our work, the development of the "team spirit" in industry, which we believe to be the only real solution of the whole problem of production.

These ringing sentences we quote from the report of the Committee on Scientific Management and Reduction of Costs appointed by the Industrial Council for the Building Industry of Great Britain. It has just been published under the title, "Organized Public Service in the Building Industry." We called attention last week to the failure of Great Britain's leading politician, and we call attention on another page to the failure of America's leading politician even to understand the problem of declining production, much less to present a solution. We are happy, by contrast, to ask our readers to consider the ideas of a group of British industrialists who understand the problem and who have a concrete, carefully wrought plan for solving it. It is primarily to the vision, the practical experience, and the hard commonsense of Mr. Malcolm Sparkes that the building industry is indebted for this report, which is signed by all the labor representatives on the Committee and by three of the employers; the remaining five of the latter, significantly enough, while agreeing with some of the proposals contained in the report, do not see their way to sign it without important reservations.

The Committee conceived their task to be the suggestion of methods for the development of the highest possible efficiency in a well-organized building service.

> As our investigation proceeded we became more and more impressed with the immense possibilities lying latent in the new system of industrial self-government implied in the constitution of our Industrial Council. . . . We believe that the great task of our Industrial Council is to develop an entirely new system of industrial control by the members of the industry itself—the actual producers, whether by hand or brain—and to bring them into coöperation with the state as the central representative of the community whom they are organized to serve. . . . There are many problems that require patient experiment, and experience must be purchased in the school of trial and error. Our hope for the future lies in the liberation and right direction of man's true generous qualities of goodwill, enthusiasm, and adventure. They must be our constant guide, and no fear of the risks that seem to be involved must allow us to deny them.

In this spirit the Committee proceed to examine the causes tending to the restriction of output, which are found to be chiefly four: (a) the fear of unemployment; (b) the disinclination of operatives to make unrestricted profit for private employers; (c) the lack of interest in the industry evidenced by operatives owing to their non-participation in control; (d) inefficiency, both managerial and operative. The remedy for these four prime evils is sought through a unification and organization of the entire industry (on the basis of industrial private initiative) and the replacement of the profits system by a plan of operation for service—a plan in which profits become incidental and do not go into the private pocket of the employer. The scheme encourages to the utmost the organized joint action of employers and the unionization of employees—a fact worthy the attention of our trust-busting Federal officials and our union-baiting Steel Trust alike.

Specifically, to keep the whole productive capacity of the industry continuously engaged and absorbed, the Committee recommend a far-reaching system of central, regional, and area employment committees, each consisting of equal numbers of employers and employees, together with one architect. These committees are central to the scheme. Their duty is first to regularize the demand for building by accelerating new enterprises both public and private at the approach of slack periods and by urging postponement at times of congestion. They will coöperate with the Government and local authorities, and will seek to bring into the scheme the small non-federated employers, who will naturally interfere with its working. Their second function is to decasualize building labor; and the undertaking of afforestation, road-making, the preparation of sites for housing schemes, and the demolition of unsanitary areas in preparation for improvements are suggested as means of regularizing employment; while investigation as to the possibility of dovetailing with other industries is advocated. Finally, in case of unavoidable unemployment, the revolutionary recommendation is urged that the unemployed members be maintained by the industry itself. Each employer will be required, upon joint certificate from himself and a union representative, to pay weekly into an unemployment fund which shall be administered by the Employment Committee a fixed percentage (estimated at not more than five per cent.) on his wage bills. With the spectre of unemployment banished, and with regular wages "that will insure a real and satisfactory standard of comfort," "we believe that the whole atmosphere of industry will experience a great and vitalizing change, and that efficiency of production will be much increased." It is imperative, however, that labor shall under these conditions increase production by more concentrated effort; and management and capital must consent to a limitation on their earnings. "We have attempted thoroughly to explore all possible objections to the scheme which we are advocating. But the difficulties are not sufficiently serious to shake our conviction that with increasing goodwill will come higher production, and with better management increasing surplus will be available."

The earnings of the employer the Committee would divide definitely and clearly into wages of management and interest on capital. The former will be fixed by the Employment Committee on the basis of ability as demonstrated by per-

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sonal service; the latter will be paid at a fixed and guaranteed rate, determined by the yield of government stock. This arrangement, it should be noted, would cut the heart out of the profits system, but would still give the employer proper stimulus to efficiency in management by making his income depend on his skill. It would likewise deprive the capitalist of any temptation to try to enlarge his gains beyond the fixed rate. To carry out these proposals the Committee insist strongly on the necessity for regular audit, on the basis of which the Employment Committee might withdraw the guaranteed returns on capital in incompetently managed concerns.

With the wages of labor and management and the hire of capital thus definitely fixed, the amount of surplus earnings in the industry is to be publicly declared each year and held in trust by a National Joint Committee of the Building Trades Industrial Council, to be applied to the following common services: guarantee of interest, loans to building firms for purposes of development; education and research; superannuation schemes for the whole registered personnel of the industry; replacement of approved capital lost without fault of management; and such other purposes as may be thought desirable. Complete publicity, it is held, will go far to create public confidence in the building industry, and will pave the way to the scientific adjustment of prices.

This remarkable plan, so extraordinary in its combination of vision and faith with hard commonsense and recognition of existing conditions, deserves the most searching study by American employers and employees throughout the country; for our problem is essentially the same as Great Britain's. The scheme is by no means perfect or final. It does not settle the wage question, though it removes the element of struggle for surplus between the employer and employee that now embitters it. It takes for granted the payment of interest on capital, which will render it anathema to the socialist, and it does not even raise the question of land rent, which will damn it in the eyes of the single taxer. Except through publicity, it does not provide against monopolistic action by the partners in the building industry to hold up the public for exorbitant prices and then divide the swag between themselves. It inevitably leaves the way open to jealousies and intrigues within the employment committees. It will be criticized by employers for interfering with their immemorial privileges and perquisites, and by "hard-boiled" unionists for taking away their monopolistic powers. But it is basically democratic and honest. It looks facts in the face. It aims at the right target, namely, efficiency in production. It seeks to put an end to unemployment, underemployment, and sabotage of both capital and labor—the cardinal sins of the existing order. It recognizes that the present mutual suspicion of employer and employee, with the consequent paralysis of production, cannot be removed so long as the two fight each other in the dark for an indeterminate surplus of profits. It courageously undertakes to substitute service for profits as the motive force in industry. It perceives the dangers of bureaucracy, and proposes to maintain the advantages of private initiative, at the same time recognizing the impossibility of changing present conditions fundamentally without the thorough coöperative organization of all the units in the industry, and of the constituent members of the separate units. In the present troubled state of American industrial affairs, we commend it to all men of intelligence and goodwill as an honest, courageous, and singularly intelligent attempt to indicate how to take the next step forward.

Yap for Yappers

THERE are times when our principles forsake us. Such a time has come. Armistice terms, Fourteen Points, freedom of the seas, self-determination, everything to the contrary notwithstanding, we are for Yap!

It is recorded that the Yaps, Yappers, Yapites, Yapiki —whatever they call themselves—are "highly intelligent for savages," and have devised a system of stone currency, the coins of which are from six inches to twelve feet in diameter, some of them weighing almost five tons. If a malefactor of great wealth can no longer find room for his money indoors, he may put it out on the fire escape, or pile it beside his front stoop, without fear of loss. It is averred, further, that if, when a man is out fishing, a stone piece of say five tons wears a hole in his pocket and goes to the bottom of the sea, ownership is not lost, and the coin is still good.

All this may be well enough among persons who are "highly intelligent for savages"; but it suggests some difficulties when the comforts of civilization are introduced into Yap. How, for instance, is any self-respecting hold-up man to be expected to stop citizens by night and relieve them of half a dozen twelve-foot coins? And in what manner will a bank cashier abscond with a package of four per cent., non-taxable, fifteen-year stone bonds that are deposited at the bottom of the Pacific Ocean, lat. 9° 40′ N., long. 139° 28′ E.? But these details will doubtless be arranged, and when Yap has been adequately Americanized, we shall have regular financial statements from its controller of the currency on the weekly stone reserve in the National Quarry.

Curiously enough, we are not after Yap in order to make it safe for democracy, or even to assure it self-determination. "It is one of the bases and centres of cable and radio communication on the Pacific," said President Wilson, tactlessly, to the Senate committeemen. It is not the Bureau of Education but the United States Navy that is interested in Yap—with the idea, no doubt, that it will make a quiet and secluded site for an old sailors' home, now that world peace is understood to be at hand and our sea power is presently to be reduced.

But one may venture to predict that for other Americans the value of Yap will be something different. To the harassed newspaper poet and perhaps to the topical song writer, Yap should be worth its weight in stone. Why not a song from George M. Cohan, for instance:

> Give us Yap! Give us Yap!
> The Yanks have put it,
> The Yanks have put it,
> The Yanks have put it,
> On the Map!

One wishes that Edward Lear, who immortalized the Akond of Swat, were alive to do justice to Yap—to write a paraphrase in which he might conclude:

> Someone, or nobody, cares a rap
> Who or which or why mayhap
> Is the Island of Yap!

But more than anyone else, perhaps, William J. Lampton, a vers librettist who called his verses merely "Yawps," would have enjoyed Yap. A Yawp on Yap; how would that do for a title? We will not attempt to write the verses, but Yawp or not, we must have Yap.

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A Marlowe for the Movies

EVANGELINE has made the movies, and the heroes and heroines of accepted romance are said to be everywhere in danger that the untiring scouts of the screen will find them and drag them into another light than they have been used to. Probably most of the producers little suspect what quarries await them when they begin to mine the past, or what incredible wealth. To borrow a quotation from one of the classics, all the plots that tread the globe are but a handful to the tribes that slumber in its bosom—and plots of punch, too, of pep and kick and ginger. Take the Aeneid, for instance. What a royal variety of incident and landscape for Dr. Griffith! The treachery of Sinon and the destruction of tall Troy; the flight of Anchises-bearing and Ascanius-leading and Creüsa-losing Aeneas; the adventures by sea and among panoramic islands to Carthage; the tender episode of Dido, the storm, the cave, the mortal pile; the return to manly labors, with a large attention to those funeral games in which Dares and Entellus waged such war as would make the fortunes of any film; the descent into spacious reverberating Hades, with its horn and ivory gates; the betrothal to Lavinia, and the consequent struggle with Turnus and the allied and associated princes; the amical interlude of Nisus and Euryalus in No Man's Land; the terrific duel of Pallas and Turnus; the dreadful deaths of Mezentius and young Lausus; the Latinian council, the quarrel between Turnus and Drances, the signal deeds of the virgin-virago Camilla attended by her martial girls, Acca, Larina, Tulla, and fierce Tarpeia; and then the last great battle in which treachery-wounded Aeneas wins the victory over Turnus which leaves him at the close of the poem co-ruler of Latium and in a fair way to become the great ancestor of Rome. If all this seems to the producers a little empty of love, that can be arranged. Let them vary the scenario with a few cut-backs. When Aeneas is betrothed to Lavinia, the scene could dissolve and show reproachful expiring Dido, and he could register agony at the thought that destiny makes him marry one and leave the other; at various times during his career he could live over again, in cut-backs, those perfumed hours with Dido; and the performance might well close with a gorgeous vision, cut-back, which even in the moment of his ultimate triumph would make him muse deeply, with some heaving of his brawny breast and considerable clutching of his tortured brow, over the question whether it would not have been better, whether he would not after all have been happier, had he chosen not Rome and immortality but Dido and kiddies. This would give the story all the advantages of two strong endings, and the audience could take its pick.

What might thus be done with Aeneas only suggests a method; the material is inexhaustible. The Odyssey has enough for a thousand reels. Could not William S. Hart lay aside his automatic for a day and become the cool guileful Ulysses? He would find many a vampire to be a Circe to him, and certainly somewhere a Penelope. Mack Sennett could do the matter of Nausicaa as it has never been done in art or literature, though here perhaps a more robust Ulysses might be needed—say William Farnum. And imagination shudders before the possibilities which the return of Ulysses would have for any one who cared to seize them: the affecting conversation with Eumæus among the pigs, the importunities of the suitors, the taunts and boasts of Antinous, the discovery, the vengeance, and the conjugal reunion. Why, the thing is ready made, waiting to be picked up and used for enormous profits. So is Dante a library of scenarios, and Ariosto, and Spenser. Malory would yield at a glance such a passionate triangle as the tale of Guinevere and Arthur and Lancelot. And the second glance would fall upon Tristram and Iseult. Suppose Iseult of Ireland played by Theda Bara, and Iseult of Brittany by Mary Pickford! The producers who have neglected such a chance simply do not deserve to pay an excess-profits tax. Priscilla Dean would be an unforgettable Gretchen. And after seeing Charlie Chaplin as Mephisto, who would want to see another?

The truth of the matter is, the movies need a Marlowe. When about 1587 Marlowe came up to London to make a fortune by his learning he found the popular stage much where the motion-picture theatre is now—doing something but getting nowhere as a permanent art because it had little poetry and less taste. Doubtless he shocked enough of his academic friends by taking to the drama, but in half a dozen years he had changed the face of things, with some help, indeed, from Kyd and Greene and Lyly and Lodge and Peele and Shakespeare. In "Tamburlaine" he brought to London a fine large pageant and roaring characters from the unsuspected East; in "Doctor Faustus" he dramatized the latest popular novel from the Continent, as who should picturize the "Four Horsemen" today; in "The Jew of Malta," guessed to have come from a Spanish tale, he did at least so much as to suggest Shylock to a better poet; in "Edward II" he showed what might be done with English history; in "The Massacre at Paris" he worked up a recent event in France; and in "Dido Queen of Carthage," as our producers have just been advised to do, he went back to Virgil, he invaded classic ground. Although he got himself murdered too early to fulfill his proper career, he foreshadowed almost every development of the Elizabethan drama except that of comedy, in which he had apparently little gift. Well, the movies can manage their own comedy, almost the only type in which they may claim supremacy. But elsewhere they need a Marlowe, to dig the past deeper for them, to diversify their sources still further, and particularly to see, what Marlowe may possibly have learned from his father in Canterbury, that shoemakers in all arts do not do badly to stick to their awls. From Marlowe the producers might learn the discretion which hints that when pantomime will do as much as it will they are sublimely absurd to attempt repartee on the screen. You cannot, as a scholar might say, photograph stichomythia. A Marlowe might further instruct them that an actor need not always be compelled to register emotions elaborately when the context makes perfectly clear what he must be feeling. The audience knows already, and wants to go on. A Marlowe might even make clear that a moving picture is a picture which moves, and its business and forte are moving—processions, flights, adventures, scenic spectacles, hilarious comedy—and not static stuff. As the infallible Don Marquis once nearly said, if the actors appear too much as persons, by and by the public will demand that they personally appear altogether, and then we shall retrogress to the legitimate.

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An Academic Autocrat

By FREDERICK TUPPER

THE tremendous personage who points the moral of the present tale was not only among the first of his giant race in point of time, but was perhaps the very first in point of greatness. A scholar so renowned that the glory of his learning yet illumines the famous foundation that he governed with iron sceptre for over forty years; an administrator so efficient that we still admire his splendid innovations of mind and matter, new men, new methods, new books, new buildings, new walks and ways; a speaker so forceful and fluent that the tradition of his masterful utterance lingered long in college halls, he fills the eye with his goodly fabric. A strong man, this, who to further his career and to achieve his public and private ends must perforce disregard the rights and feelings of his weaker fellows—puny creatures that perished in his flaming path—but have not whole colleges and universities been sacrificed to the honor of One Great Man? If even a reverent estimate of his imperial aims and ends seems an affront to majesty—*Majestäts-beleidigung*, abolished as a political offence by the World War, is still a high academic crime and misdemeanor—we may palliate our temerity by the plea that this king of men reigned two centuries since in another land than ours. Through the story of Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1700 to 1742, the reader is able to gain some apprehension of the sovereign qualities of a still potent class of men of which he was so accurately and admirably representative. Greatly daring, the seeker of types may venture to view him as *the* academic autocrat.

Bentley was in the golden prime of his reputation as a classical scholar when, in his late thirties, he became the head of Trinity. In his case there could be no sinister imputation of "inbreeding," since he was appointed, in due accord with a custom yet surviving among us, by commissioners (or trustees, if you like), who had no embarrassing knowledge of the conditions and needs of the college, and since he himself, absent from Cambridge since his youth, was, like many of his kind, unhampered by any intimacy with the finances and feelings of the foundation which he had early known only as a rival. Upon his accession the great man was preserved from any entangling alliances with the Fellows of his faculty by his ready perception of the huge chasm that yawned between his mightiness and their mediocrity. These persons might boast that they had lived for many years with great respect and love to their former masters and in perfect friendship one with another; they might even bear among men the character of wisdom, gravity, and piety; but the downward glance of the new chief revealed to him a debauched and profligate crew, destitute of learning, industry, and principle. "Had I herded and sotted with them," he declared long afterwards, "I might have done what I would and yet come away with their applauses for a great and good master." Such a lofty nature as his could bear no brother near the throne.

For all Byron's saying, great men have not always scorned great recompenses. Bentley's first thought as master was of his own emoluments, and he lost no time in imparting to the office all the dignity of pounds and pence. The envious souls of the Senior Fellows rankled at the disparity between their stipends and his, which was barely ten times greater; and strident voices filled the foggy air of the fens with clamorous complaints against the lavish outlay on the repairs of the Master's Lodge (some twenty or thirty paltry thousands, as we count money), and against even his yearly allowance for lighting and heating. The persistent annoyance of petty buzzings and stings aroused the Master to a mighty wrath which his proud nature scorned to control. He not only punished in various indirect ways the college officers who had condemned his proceedings, but he sought to silence the voice of opposition by depriving the Fellows of their combination-room, where they were wont to assemble after dinner and censure loudly him and his policies. What, pray, would become of absolute monarchy if men could freely speak out their minds? We cherish one of Bentley's happy retorts to the indigent grumblers, that "the great necessity to which they were reduced was due to the increase in the price of claret and that the advance of twelve pence in a bottle repeated every day must needs now exhaust a scanty fellowship."

The high man with a high aim to pursue cannot pause to ask warrant for all his actions. His is the power and his the credit. Bentley, whose purpose was to make the college a house of the sciences and "of all kinds of good letters," must not be balked by the halting conservatism that shrinks from thorough-going godly reformation. Trinity soon learned that it had a new master. World-famous scholars in astronomy, chemistry, Oriental languages, were elected to professorships; merit-testing examinations were freely instituted; Fellows themselves were cast into outer darkness; learned heads of other colleges and benefactors were lavishly bedoctored—all without a word to statutable advisers on the faculty. Each innovation became a stumbling-block and a foolishness to men fiercely jealous of precedent and prerogative. They alleged with some show of reason that the chief called them to his counsels only when he needed their purses, as in the restoration of the College Chapel, which drained them of their incomes for a year, and that with a tyrant's regard for the maxim *divide et impera*, he only provided for those of whom he would make a party in his interest. He held over them always the schoolmaster's rod—curtailing their festivals, depriving them of their rooms and livings, fining them for omission of lectures and for absence from chapel. To their wild remonstrances the Master grimly answered: "'Tis all but mere child's play; I am not warm yet." So deep a dejection fell upon the poor creatures that a visitor to the college describes them as "looking like so many prisoners who were uncertain whether to expect military execution or the favor of decimation." This or worse is the unhappy lot of rebels against the absolute power of academic monarchy.

"If," says King Padella of Thackeray's fable to Prince Giglio, "you ride a fairy horse and wear fairy armor, what on earth is the use of my hitting you?" Had Bentley's opponents known that, like many of his heroic sort in later times, he bore a charmed life, they would never have thrown at his feet the gage of battle to the utterance. Yet their new-found resolve to fight was not inspired merely by the courage of despair. Their long community of suffering

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COLLEGE

filled them with a sense of staunch comradeship, a regard for concerted action or team-play often fatally lacking in contests of this kind. Moreover, as celibates, they were unhampered by the palsying fear for "Mrs. Rabbit and the little rabbits in the burrow," which blasts all free movement of hares and humans. A former member of their society, now learned in the law, brought them the comforting assurance of sound legal backing. But though they were many and Richard Bentley one, their strife was unequal. They were poor and obscure, he wealthy and famous, the friend of many great ones of the earth, having at his free disposal places, honors, and preferments without number. The Master, too, was in possession, holding his own with the firm grip of the born fighter. Amazed at the defiance of his underlings, "he laid before them good and evil" and loftily bade them "choose between life and death." When the Fellows refused with unexpected firmness the proffered clemency, the potentate lifted eagerly the iron gauntlet with the menacing phrase, "From henceforward, farewell peace to Trinity College!"

Thus began in the college a Thirty Years' War—described by the strong man himself as "the struggle and effort of vice and idleness against virtue, learning, and good discipline." Before the days of his presidency Bentley the scholar had played a sorry part in Swift's "Battle of the Books" as a windy Thersites in broken armor, useful only through his talent of railing. Here is, of course, the malice that ever pursues sovereign merit. Not the malignant Swift but the hero-worshipper Carlyle should have found a place for Bentley the Master, who furnishes large occasion for a supplementary chapter on "The Hero as Educator," for in him and his like appears "the true Commander over Men." Indeed, his magnificent egotism leads the protagonist of his order to portray his warring self as an epic champion in Virgil's haughty words: "We, too, can fling the darts and mighty spear with strong right arm, and blood is wont to flow from the wounds which we inflict." Certainly whatever gods there were in the English political heavens at that time looked with high favor upon the hero, who had burned at their shrines the incense of many tributes and dedications, and veiled him in impenetrable mists of legal sophistry whenever during the next four years his academic life was threatened. But at last for him as for the earlier Hector came the dread hour when he must face the enemy in hand-to-hand fight. Before the tribunal of the good Bishop of Ely his troop of foes hurl at him some fifty harmless darts, the flimsy counts of a foolishly long indictment, and two heavy spears, the grave charges that he had wasted the college funds in what we should call today "over-head expenses" and that he had violated the college statutes. Through the preliminary skirmishes of the battle Bentley displayed characteristic confidence ("Trial in my case is the same as victory"), but now in humbler mood he seems to have read his doom in the eyes of prosecution and judge alike. Once more the gods intervened. The Bishop died just before giving judgment against the autocrat, and on the morrow the Queen, too, passed away. There arose a new world which had other concerns than college troubles, and Bentley survived seemingly stronger than ever.

For twenty years his absolutism is constantly challenged, but to little purpose. Hard-hitting champions of his faculty assail him with deft strokes in a dozen pamphlets, but what is the use of raining blows on that fairy armor? At each crisis in his fortunes he sends forth from the Cambridge press some work of such massive scholarship that all the world wonders, delivers some sermon or oration which men quote for a century, advocates some cause or wins some position which enhances his power and prestige. No one knows better than he the value of publicity. Entrenched in popular esteem, the self-proclaimed "genius of the age" does what he likes in his college home. Trinity patronage and property he dispenses at pleasure, without the least apprehension of being called to account. He exacts fees and renders decisions with no regard for precedent or for the vote of his Fellows, he introduces into his faculty new men entirely at his own discretion (once "three scholars and two nephews"), he increases his favor with undergraduates at the expense of the professors. "Slashing Bentley," the title won by his destructive criticism, fits the Master cap-à-pie. As the motto of a book against the "tyrant" the most inveterate of his foes selected that virulent verse of Horace, "Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat" ("Laws he refuses to recognize as having any existence for himself; there is nothing which he does not insolently claim")—and, by the way, was made to pay dearly in open court for this indulgence of spleen; but that is a story deserving the attention of the Association of University Professors. Yet another colleague, worsted by him in many a squabble, cruelly insinuated—and the suggestion has its present uses—that "his conduct is not in any way to be accounted for except we could believe of him what a modern historian relates of another tyrant and usurper, that he has found means of contracting with a certain invisible power for a lease of his government to be insured to him against all hazards and events till the charm be out and his term expired." The charm seemed to have run out when, twenty years after his first trial, Bentley was brought to judgment on the same charges as before, declared guilty, and sentenced to be deprived of the Mastership of Trinity College. Such was the penalty, but who should enforce it? What mouse should bell the fierce Grimalkin? That perilous duty devolved upon the Vice-Master, Bentley's servile henchman. He would do nothing and no other could, so the unconquerable old man reigned on undisturbed until his death eight years later. With his high and haughty spirit—which seemed *hybris* to his foes—quite unbroken by a generation of struggle, he died, as he had lived, Master of Trinity.

Many chapters in this story of long ago carry no shock of surprise to the present reader, so often have they been retold of late in familiar settings. The academic "will to power" finds its natural expression in terms of Bentleyism—which we therefore offer as a fitting word for a not infrequent phenomenon. The Master, so exultant in his strength that he wished ever to walk on the shoulders of men and not at their level; so confident of his high ends and aims that he availed himself often of low means and denied to all others common freedom of opposition; so favored by the gods that he seemed invulnerable to attack, turning the weapons of his enemies against their own next of life—such a man as this is not born for death, but survives as an ever-useful symbol of a dæmonic energy, which in the world of school and college as in the larger world is still potent for good and evil. Absolutism has died in church and state, but Bentleyism still rears its crowned head in the colleges. So long as that tremendous anachronism survives, men should find a vital interest in the lofty career of *the* academic autocrat.

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Attacking the Housing Problem on Three Fronts

By LEWIS MUMFORD

IN order to appreciate the dismaying absurdity of New York's present plight in housing, it is necessary to see the situation in historical perspective. Among those who have forcibly acquired an interest in the subject through the sudden rise in rents, New York's problem is supposed to be a temporary one, due chiefly to the war and to the unfortunate cessation in capital enterprises and building operations. The various solutions that have been urged are based upon this genial assumption.

But curiously enough the tremendous problem that has lately come to light has been in existence for over a century. A large part of the city's population has been acutely distressed by the constant decrease in domestic facilities that has gone hand in hand with the constant increase in rents. Without being able definitely to detect the source of their troubles, New Yorkers have reacted to the situation in various ways, the most common being the uneasy habit of shifting their residence from season to season, always in the hope of finding in some new house or some new neighborhood the satisfaction which their present premises never gave them. The economic futility of this urban nomadism has never been calculated. Obviously it merely afforded a temporary relief, and the underlying condition remained untreated. The congestion of population persisted, and along with this the lack of transit routes, the demand for quarters near the place of work, and the habit of increasing site values by erecting four- and five-story tenements. Little was done to check the operation of these forces and tendencies. The history of housing in New York is not without its record of improvement, but its final outcome has been the standardization and extension of a mode which at its best means domestic depression, the tenement. It is one of the ironies of the present situation that all the plans for solving the housing problem are in terms of improved and cheapened tenements. It is as though the necessity for putting out a fire should lead the frantic spectator to drench the blaze with gasoline.

Fortunately the attempt to deal with the problem did not end with "nomadism." As soon as the hygienic dangers of poor housing became apparent, the active minds of the time busied themselves with the attempt to cope with so-called natural law, and three separate lines of endeavor were worked out. The first in point of time was the housing movement, whose impulse came from the health commissioner's report in 1836. It created propaganda which resulted in a long series of experiments with "model" tenements, culminating in the reformation of 1901. In its local application it is doubtful whether the housing movement may be called a success, for it compromised with the forces that made for depression and congestion, and it ultimately played into their hands. But at the same time it awakened an interest in housing which resulted in those improved designs for two-story, single and multi-family houses that have been embodied in the Government's late war-housing projects. The three-story frame tenement of New England example and the four-story fireproof of Manhattan design are no longer looked upon, accordingly, as ideal solutions of the architectural problem. So much must be credited to it in the way of positive achievement.

The second solution, by a singular coincidence, was proposed during the very year that the ill-famed dumb-bell tenement was winning first prize in a "model" tenement competition. The earliest housing reformers had expressed their plans for improvement in architectural terms. In 1879 Henry George went a step further by reducing the problem to its fundamental economic terms. He saw that the basic reason for the tenement house was congestion, and that the reason for congestion was the scarcity of land. It is not to be supposed that there has ever been, even in narrow Manhattan, any *physical* lack of building space. At the time "Progress and Poverty" was published, population had moved in compact formation hardly above 59th Street. The scarcity has always been economic. In every growing community a large proportion of the available land is withheld from immediate use in the hope that the increase of population will heighten the demand for it, raise the site values, and enable the holder to tax the community heavily for his disservice in keeping the land idle. In New York this economic anomaly has been chronic from the fact that the tenement has become the standard type of dwelling. Before 1904 there were old sections in the Bronx and the upper West Side which had been developed, like the outskirts of Boston or Pittsburgh, with houses occupying generous plots in a healthful, beautiful, semi-rural environment. The district about New York University was of this character. Normally such a development interposes itself between the market-garden stage and the more intensive uses of business, theatre, and hotel establishments. But the opening of the subway routes made the jump from goat pasture to four-story tenement immediately profitable, and as a result no landlord can afford to build suburban types of houses when all his neighbors are in the act of increasing their rents and raising their capitalized values by means of the tenement. Thus it pays to keep the land undeveloped until it can be overdeveloped.

Over the tendency of the real-estate speculator to foster congestion for the effect this has upon land values, Henry George's plan to tax land values to the full and to exempt improvements has immense advantages. It would tend to throw upon the market land held by owners who have no idea of performing a genuine economic function, and it would tend to spread population by making profitable the immediate erection of a smaller, more spacious type of domestic establishment than that which the prospective tenement today enforces. It is a serious misfortune that this proposal of Henry George's should have been advocated as a panacea and called the Single Tax. For one need not agree that the speculative appropriation of the unearned increment is the source of all our economic evils to see that it is one of the most important factors in creating housing depression in great cities.

The ineptitude of the single track, single-tax programme is due to its incorrigibly optimistic belief in the beneficent order of nature. The tax on land alone would indeed provide the economic basis for a renovation in housing, but it would not by itself effect the renovation. There is no substantial ground for believing that without further plans for organized improvement, natural economic forces will

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of their own free interaction foster a more elevated mode of housing or a more effective emplacement of dwelling house, factory, and office. Single tax or no single tax, there remains the possibility that land will be appropriated for residences that should have been turned over to factories, that parks will be carved out where there should have been dwelling houses, and that a loose and spotty development like that of Philadelphia or Brooklyn (despite their low rentals) will be characteristic of the extensive use of urban land as markedly as under the present system of intensive exploitation. If the housing reformers neglected the land, it is equally true that the land reformers have neglected the city. Let us see therefore in what direction the third movement for rehabilitation tends.

Contemporary with the housing movement came that for the orderly, foresighted planning of cities. This idea was a typical product of progressive eighteenth century thought, and, in America, the city of Washington is its classic exposition. It cropped up and disappeared again and again, from the time Philadelphia was founded right up to the erection of the White City of the Chicago World's Fair, and it finally embodied itself in a concretely organized movement, with national conferences, a growing international literature, and a large college of able exponents, among whom the names of Eliot, Olmstead, Robinson, Nolen, and Ford are more or less familiar, even to the casually informed citizen. It is still too commonly supposed that regularity of layout, the erection of public monuments, and the establishment of civic centres are the chief objectives of city planning. But this does scant justice to its essential purposes. What concerns the city planner is not mechanical regularity, but functional coördination. He seeks to rectify disorderly methods of city growth by treating the laying down of streets, the building of houses, the extension of transportation systems, and every other separate project as part of a unified scheme of regional development.

The weakness of the city-planning movement up to the present has been due to its constriction within the present tangle of private property interests. In spite of the opportunity opened by the new transit lines, the entire development of the Bronx and Queens and hither-Brooklyn has been left in the hands of the realty corporations and private builders. It is hardly needful to point out that in this situation the financial profit of ground owner and house builder and loan mortgagee is the primary consideration. The welfare of the community as a whole is attended to only within the limits actually enforceable by law, limits established chiefly for safety's sake, with the smallest respect for the æsthetic, cultural, or political amenities. Hence the city planner's efforts at coördination have been merely gesticulative, because it is impossible to integrate with any large-visioned social plan of development the private welfare of the forestallers in land. While realty interests are dominant, "idealty" interests are depressed. So the city-planning offices have remained in the hands of the municipal engineer, and he has provided for the extension of streets and the laying down of sewers without attempting to look after the ultimate social interests of the community. The nearest approach to a unified plan is the Zoning Law. But the prime necessity for planning the further development of transportation and industrial settlement with respect to the renovation of housing has been flatly disregarded.

Separately, the three movements of reform that I have been describing and appraising have failed. The Single Tax by itself has only fulminated against the tenement. Housing reform by itself has only standardized the tenement. City planning by itself has only extended the tenement. After a century of agitation the congestion of population within the greater city is still so acute that not alone is the domestic environment impoverished, but the ensuing rise in rents has made it impossible to counteract this depression by improvements in diet, medical treatment, and the like, for the reason that house rents now occupy a disproportionately large place in the urban family's budget. It is fatuous to suppose that private interests will correct this condition, for it is for the benefit of private interests that it exists. No matter how many tenements magnanimous enterprise might build, there would never be a sufficiently large margin of vacant tenements to cause a general lowering of rentals or a better mode of exploitation. The building mortgagees may be trusted to attend discreetly to that.

The distinct failure of the three separate movements for housing reform presents a curious contrast with their separately cogent and unanswerable programmes for free land, better houses, and closer coördination of municipal and domestic enterprises. Is it not therefore probable that this failure has resulted from their disjointedness, and that the hope for a successful solution of the housing problem consists in making the housing reformer, the city planner, and the municipal official work together on a common plane of endeavor? The housing problem, the industries problem, the transportation problem, and the land problem cannot be solved one at a time by isolated experts, thinking and acting in a civic vacuum. They are mutually interacting elements, and they can be effectively dealt with only by bearing constantly in mind the general situation from which they have been abstracted. The perception of this necessity has lately dawned on the more advanced architects and city planners. In the competition for the solution of the American house problem, undertaken under the auspices of the American Institute of Architects, the thesis demanded had to deal with a social element, an economic element, and an administrative element, the result to be expressed concretely upon the accompanying city plan. The results of this contest have lately been announced, and whether they prove gratifying or disappointing, the initial requirements are pregnant with promise. They indicate the inevitable terms upon which any successful attempt at domestic uplift and rehabilitation must be carried out.

The city which attempts to grapple with its problems only when they become so overwhelming that they can no longer be ignored is bound to reap the rewards of its shortsightedness. The failure of New York in dealing with its housing situation, and the failure of the reformers in dealing with New York, are at bottom symptoms of deficient intellectual analysis and organization. Until a civic survey is undertaken, and until the results of this conspectus are progressively embodied in a report upon city development, and until a permanent administrative body with plenary powers is created for the purpose of carrying this development through, irrespective of the political complexion of successive mayors and boards of estimate, the prospects of improving the housing situation in any fundamental manner are remote. The sort of plans that are jerrybuilt to fill a sudden, stringent demand will satisfy only the jerrybuilder. The people who think that the housing situation can be repaired in such short order are gullible enough to believe that Rome was built in a day.

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Framed in France

By HARRY J. HIBSCHMAN

ON the 8th of June, upon going to one of the buildings of the Army Educational Corps at Beaune, in France, to report at the close of the educational work in the A. E. F., I saw, spread out in heaps over half the floor of the main room, hundreds of bulky official envelopes assorted for mailing. Five or six soldiers were constantly adding to the piles, some addressing the envelopes, others filling them, and some arranging them for systematic mailing. In one end of the room was a number of mail sacks already filled; and piled on the floor and on chairs were the copies of the three or four pamphlets which were going into the envelopes. I happened to glance first at the addressed envelopes on the floor and noticed that some were addressed to public libraries in the United States, some to schools, and others to public officials all over the country. Naturally, I became curious as to the nature of documents considered important enough to be franked by the thousands from France to all kinds of people and institutions all over America, and so I picked up several of them. As the first few I examined contained matter that would obviously have been of value to those of us working in the field, I was considerably mystified, for not only had I, as a lecturer in the Citizenship Department, never received copies of them, but, as soon appeared, many of the members of the A. E. C. besides myself had never heard of them until they came to Beaune to be discharged. However, whatever mystery there seemed to be was cleared up later in the day when I read the last of the pamphlets, for I realized that while prepared in France, it was intended mainly for use in America. The cover reads as follows:

"Educate America. A Complete After-the-War Program for the Advancement of Public Education. By Frank E. Spaulding, Member of Educational Corps Commission, American Expeditionary Forces, and Superintendent of Public Schools, Cleveland, Ohio."

The significance of this pamphlet became plainer to me later because of two incidents, the first of which occurred a few nights ago. I was sitting in a tent in Camp Pontanezen at Brest, where several prominent members of the Army Educational Corps were discussing the immediate future of education in America. One of them prophesied that some such scheme as that advocated by Dr. Spaulding would surely be adopted, saying with due modesty that three or four United States Senators who were personal friends of his had pledged their support. Another spoke of conferences that he had attended at which the subject of discussion was some such scheme; at these conferences General R. I. Rees, in charge of education in the A. E. F., was present as well as other prominent army officers. The gentleman added that he himself had been appointed a member of a committee to meet at home in September for the purpose of forwarding the movement in a practical way.

The second incident occurred out on the Atlantic Ocean on the way home. One of the men on board the ship, who was an instructor at the A. E. F. University at Beaune, describing a recent visit of a Congressional committee to Beaune, concluded with the remark: "There wasn't much fuss, because I'm sure the authorities were afraid they might learn something about the dissatisfaction which really existed both among students and instructors." I asked him what committee it was, and he answered that it was the Military Committee under Julius Kahn.

I immediately recalled a third but earlier incident. On May 17 I spoke before the 319th Engineers. As usual, at the conclusion of my talk, I invited questions. One of the first was, "Are the people at home in favor of universal military training?" I answered substantially that it was one of the great current issues now before the people at home for settlement, that no final judgment had yet been formed, and that the decision would depend to a great extent upon the influence of those who had had the actual military experience on that side. Some one then asked for my personal views, and when I answered that I was absolutely, emphatically, and forever opposed to it, I received the loudest applause and the most uproarious chorus of approval in my entire experience on the other side. In fact the demonstration was so vehement that I was puzzled until after I left the stage, when some one told me that Congressman Kahn had been there the night before and had told those same men that as Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House, he intended to give all his personal influence and attention to the passage of a law for universal military training and that he was sure it would pass. My informant concluded: "He told the boys that as most of them were from his district, he wanted them to remember his stand on this issue; and you bet they will!"

In the light of all this, the mailing of the pamphlets, the conferences of military authorities, the proposal for later systematic work, the visit of the Congressional Committee, and the speech of Congressman Kahn on his way home, let us examine the proposed scheme "to educate America." The printed pamphlet contains thirty-two pages, but I am directly concerned only with pages 18 to 21 inclusive. However, to place them in proper perspective, it is necessary to notice some of the features covered in the other parts of the paper, which in fact include much to which every thoughtful American will gladly subscribe. Here, for instance, is the opening sentence:

> Many and impressive have been the revelations of the Great World War; but none of these revelations has been more impressive than that of the supreme importance of education, both in war and in peace.

Dr. Spaulding himself describes his paper in these words:

> The programme here outlined consists of two parts: first, a brief statement of the objectives of American education for the immediate future; and, second, an outline of the general plans and means calculated to realize these objectives.

He then names the objectives thus:

> There are three minimum, comprehensive objectives that American public education should at once set for itself; these are measurably distinct, yet intimately related, both in themselves and in the processes of their achievement. They are: first, essential elementary knowledge, training, and discipline; second, occupational efficiency; third, civic responsibility.

One of the most important of his suggestions is set forth on page 31, as follows:

> It is evident that the development of this, or any other plan of education, national in scope and adequate to national needs, demands the establishment of a Department of Education in the National Government, a Department that shall be on a par with all other State departments, having a Secretary at its head who is a member of the President's Cabinet.

The truth is, that some of Dr. Spaulding's co-laborers at Beaune have been unkind enough to insinuate that this is

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the most important feature of the programme, and even that the author has heard the buzzing of a little bee suggesting personal—and agreeable—possibilities in that connection.

Now let me quote without comment the following excerpts from pages 18 to 21 inclusive:

The training of young men for civic responsibility and vocational efficiency should culminate in a full twelvemonth year of instruction, discipline, and training, to be carried on directly under the auspices of the national Government.

For this year of training, all male youth of the land should be mobilized by a complete draft carried out by the War Department, only those seriously crippled physically and the mentally incompetent being rejected as unfit, for one of the fundamental aims of this course of training should be to make fit.

Some option should be allowed the individual concerned as to the age at which he should enter upon this year of strictly compulsory training. He should not be allowed, for example, to begin it before reaching the age of seventeen years and six months; and he should be required to begin it before passing his twentieth birthday.

For this year of instruction permanent centres should be established throughout the country. The cantonments that have proved best adapted for military training suggest themselves as most suitable. Of course these should be gradually rebuilt with permanent plain structures, adapted both to the maintenance of the student body and to the wide range of instruction to be given.

While the whole purpose of this year of Government control and direction should be educational, in the broadest sense, every student should be required to devote one-third to one-half of his time to exercises for physical development and to military training.

The curricula of these centres of training for civic responsibility, which might well be called National Civic Institutes, should be prepared jointly by the Educational and War Departments of the Government, the latter assuming responsibility for the military and physical training part of the curricula, the former for non-military subjects and courses of instruction.

The immediate control of the student body should be exercised by a military staff under the War Department. So, also, should the military instruction and physical development be carried out by the military staff; the instruction in non-military subjects, however, should be under the direction and supervision of the Department of Education.

Present experiences in carrying out a broad educational programme in the A.E.F. should yield valuable suggestions for the formulation of permanent plans.

These institutes, filled with a million young men taken at the most permanently impressionable period of their lives, should easily prove to be the most prolific institutions in the world for the development of human resources.

I have not written here to argue, only to warn. The facts speak for themselves, and to know them is to prepare for the conflict with a full understanding of what the proposed National Civic Institutes really are. However, I wish to point out one other fact with regard to this widely-distributed paper. It is designated as Bulletin 96 and is dated May 20. I have before me three others numbered 18, 92, and 93, and dated March 15, May 19, and May 1, respectively. Each of these bears the endorsement: "Published by order of Colonel Reeves, President; Livingston Watrous, Major, Infantry, Executive Officer." I venture the conclusion that the fact that Dr. Spaulding's paper bears no such endorsement in itself implies that it was not considered good policy, for reasons that will be obvious, to send this particular pamphlet out with the military endorsement upon it.

The March of Humanity

By J. CORSON MILLER

From golden dawn to purple dusk,
Piled high with bales of smiles and tears,
The caravans are dropping down
Across the desert-sands of years.

And when the moonlight's kiss is sweet,
Still holds the trail a countless throng;
Betimes a weary camel halts
Before an oasis of song.

But always toward the beckoning West,
The sunset-land of heart's desire,
The caravans go down to Death,
The King of Zidon and of Tyre.

In the Driftway

IS the satisfaction that most of us take in the quaint customs that our adopted citizens bring with them from across the sea a mere dilettante pleasure in the picturesque and exotic, or is it something deeper and more significant? The other evening the Drifter, in the pursuit of his avocation, wandered into Elizabeth Street. He found it festooned with colored lights and bunting, a band playing Traviata, the fire-escapes and lower housetops fringed with dangling legs, every window full of heads, and the street itself a compact mass of shouting and gesticulating Latin humanity, through which it was all but impossible to force a passage. "An unusually sumptuous block-party," he guessed, and proceeded to investigate. He presently found himself before a tall shrine, elaborately lighted, and dedicated, as the inscription showed, to "San Giro Marineo, wonder-working physician." The shrine was made more interesting, if less beautiful, by waxen reproductions of various parts of the body—legs and arms, feet and hands, even heads and breasts—colored to a more than lifelike ruddiness and adorned with bright emblems like the tattooing on a sailor's skin. A little space was kept clear before it, and old men removed their hats as they passed and old women dropped a genuflection; but the younger sort stared in wonder and a little shame at the goings-on of their elders.

* * * * *

NOW the Drifter confesses to a considerable interest in hagiography, believing it to contain elements of poetry and human nature to which, as a humanist, he would not willingly be blind; but he had never heard of San Giro Marineo and he knows no more of him now. Is he perhaps a late-come saint, not thoroughly acclimated—or shall we say "seasoned"?—to the exalted regions to which he has been lifted; a *nouveau riche*, not quite at home in the aureoled circle of the Francises and Catherines and Anthonys that reluctantly opens to receive him? He is, at any rate, without literary standing, like that upstart intruder into the Olympian pantheon, Dionysus, in the days of Homer. Nevertheless, the Drifter takes off his hat to San Giro and his like, and to the old folk who show respect to him; and he would fain read a brief homily to the young folk who are ashamed of him and of them. For the little

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festa was an illustration of that quality called racial *character*, a quality that is becoming rarer every day. Even in the old world it is hourly retreating before the march of civilization, or however we name the drab but necessary thing that is supplanting it. For it must go; of course it must go. But the Drifter sighs at the thought of the colorless world we shall have when the last vestiges of it are smoothed away, when we are all as much alike in the furnishings of our minds as we are in the framework of our bodies. San Giro is a symbol of the vanishing distinctions of the human species, of the "infinite variety" of man.

* * * * *

AT each new turning season the Drifter asks himself what annual phrase in the Great Epic of the year most pricks the senses: the stir of sap in the maples, the earliest robin coldly foraging across a bare lawn, crocuses or cowslips or trailing arbutus in the muddy wood-lot, grass appearing along a hundred borders, willow bark suddenly ripe for whistles, garden soil warm and dry enough to risk seed in it, apple blossoms and lilacs lifting the soul like music with their fragrance—the bright, young, green procession from March's equinox to June's accomplished solstice; or the higher pomps of summer, red and yellow—berries luxuriant on the hills, wheat in the head, corn haughty with the pride of its stature, meadow-larks that cry continually as cherubim, evenings spangled with fireflies and alive with shrill bats and angry night-hawks and repining frogs, the spare smell of mown hay, keen acrid dust flung through light air by the lean hands of drouth; or golden, purple, imperial autumn—the incredible blue of fringed gentians, apples compliant to hungry hands, grapes dewy and fresh on tingling mornings, gardens bequeathing their wealth to ready cellars, birch fires cracking on a hearth which had nearly forgotten them, leaves so scattered underfoot that every pedestrian sounds like a marching army, wild geese off for the south with eager bugles, a frost transmogrifying the world in a night; or white and black and dusky winter—sounds heard muffled over deadening snow, the gorgeous privacy of long nights, the sweet, bitter coldness of cheeks when the blast strikes them, blood triumphantly warmed by exercise even in zero weather, the crisp flesh of fruit dug from pits hid deep underground, the ringing blades of skates, the malicious whine of sleigh runners, fat companionable snow-birds with an eye on the pantry window, barns warm with the breath of ever-ruminant cows: which is best? Is there any choosing? Should we all vote for the nearest? Perhaps that is what the Drifter does when he makes his choice for the sundowns of August, which, by some keenness in the winds that then waken, clearly though not too brusquely prophesy, in the midst of a consoling splendor, that the Epic has an end; August of the blazing noons, August of the cool nights.

* * * * *

THE Drifter has always thought the last sentence of "Wuthering Heights" one of the most touching in all the range of fiction. It is not quotable, for it must be read in its context, but admirers of the book will remember the ineffable note of peace upon which the stormy chronicle of madness and passion closes. "The sleepers in that quiet earth"! The Drifter often thinks of the words as he looks down from the windows of *The Nation* into what in London would be called "Paul's Churchyard"—that still haven in which so many of the busy human craft that once plied these mighty waters have come to anchor at last. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Civil Service Reform in Government Institutions

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is generally admitted that governmental institutions are exasperatingly wasteful and inefficient; that the Civil Service Law has become, or was from the beginning, a mere farce, neither insuring the reward of merit, nor affording protection to the rank and file of governmental employees against arbitrary and autocratic chiefs. But so far, no one has suggested the radical reason of this great evil nor any remedy for it. The evil persists despite its exposure and despite the activities of the National Federation of Federal Employees, and other similar associations of professional reformers, for the simple reason that no evil can be remedied by those who professionalize or commercialize it; it is against their interests to exterminate the evil on which they trade. Only the genuine, unprofessional, unsalaried reformer is willing to work towards the permanent extermination of injustice, oppression, and graft, and towards making himself superfluous as a reformer.

The National Federation of Federal Employees is, by its very constitution, unfit to protect the Civil Service employees against oppression and unjust dismissal because it is already controlled by men holding executive positions within the various governmental institutions, that is, the very type of men against whom the rank and file need protection. For these men have constituted themselves a master class and behave as if they owned the governmental institutions, as if they were above the Civil Service Law, as if the rank and file were their personal servants. They lay down innumerable and impossible rules in order to enslave and intimidate their subordinates, while they themselves take all the privileges and liberties of office.

During my ten years of governmental service, I have pondered a good deal on this situation. I was struck from the first day by the existence of mutual distrust and suspicion among governmental employees, by the lack of harmonious coöperation among them, by the absence of real enthusiasm and desire for achievement, by the emptiness and worthlessness of governmental activity. My observations and bitter personal experience during all these years of public service led me to the conclusion that the source of the evil lies at the top, and that Civil Service Reform (whose victory over the spoils system is still being sung by our misled professors of history and political science) will remain a dead letter, and all government activity will continue to be a farce, as long as the structure of the various governmental institutions remains autocratic, while the country at large is democratic, and as long as the heads of these institutions are incompetent, despotic, reactionary individuals, imposed from outside by political gangs.

The only remedy for this disheartening state of affairs is the democratization of every governmental institution. If we desire to have an efficient Government, proper reward of merit, security of tenure, fraternal relations among public servants, and all the other good things that go therewith, let each governmental employee have a voice in the affairs of his institution. Let the employees elect their own administrative officers. Let secret intrigue be eliminated. Let all matters of general interest be decided upon by the majority—such as the laying down of rules, promotions, dismissals, administrative changes, etc. Let the scientific heads be recruited by the Civil Service Commission from men of acknowledged creative ability, who are capable of creating useful work for their subordinates, and who can maintain their authority by sheer superior ability, and not by resorting to intimidation, favoritism, espionage, violations of the Civil Service Law, the sowing of mutual fear and distrust among their subordinates, and by driving out of the service the self-respecting, critically minded, independence-loving, capable

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type of employees, as is the practice of the present-day politically appointed, incompetent superiors. Let no position be filled prior to or without an examination. Let all Civil Service examinations be *real* examinations, and not consist of the mere filling out of applications. Let the distinction between a ruling and a subject class in government service be wiped out by means of elections, the initiative, referendum, and recall.

New York, July 20 OSIAS L. SCHWARZ

Capitalism and Imperialism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent issue of *The Nation*, discussing the imperialist policy of the present Japanese Government, you expressed the hope that certain liberal tendencies in Japanese society may in the end bring about the destruction of that policy. I do not share your hope. If we have learned the lessons of recent history rightly, we must know that liberalism, when it is confronted with the practical problems of the day, always and unavoidably capitulates to imperialism. Lloyd George and Wilson are living witnesses to this. For imperialism is not a psychic state based on an illusory assumption. It is the natural offspring of a system based on capitalist production and distribution, with its logical craving for markets and raw materials. The clever Welsh lawyer who now rules the destinies of Britain does not grab Egypt out of love for its ancient temples, nor bombard Afghan villages out of a childish desire to see bonfires. He is compelled by impersonal, economic necessity to secure and hold the markets and the routes upon which the life of British capital and British industry depends. The assumption of our naïve liberals that imperialism can be "cured" by putting "good men" at the helm of the capitalistic State is a fallacy so well demonstrated by history and current events that only stupidity or hopeless idiocy can remain blind to their teachings.

New York, August 6 B. S.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a socialist of many years standing and a weekly reader of your brave and independent newspaper, may I be permitted to make a comment on your policy? Your attacks upon the peace treaty, the sham League of Nations or Notions, and upon imperialism and militarism wherever found meet with the unqualified approval of thinking men and women everywhere. But why stop there? Why not press the attack upon capitalism, the fountainhead from which these evils and many others flow? We know that the concentration of wealth untold in few hands seeking investment at high rates is the cause of the constant meddling of our international bankers in foreign affairs. We know that the search for foreign markets for the surplus products of our factories is the great cause of imperialism. We also know that the foundation of militarism is imperialism. Why not strike at the root of these evils, the evil of the capitalistic organization of society? It would earn you the heartfelt gratitude of millions.

Hartford, Conn., August 12 H. ROGERS TORREY

Bolshevism in Penguinia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have been reading Anatole France's "The Revolt of the Angels," from which I extract a few timely sentences.

The Angels fail to obey Inspector Grolle's "Move on, I tell you!" and continue their talk and songs. Thereupon a row ensues. Prince Istar throws a bomb which kills the Inspector, and the smoke of which conceals the angels' escape.

"Meanwhile terror reigned in Paris. In the public squares and in the crowded streets, housewives, string-bag in hand, grew pale as they listened to the story of the crime, and consigned the p rpetrators to the most dreadful punishment. Shopkeepers, standing at the doors of their shops, put it all down to the anarchists, syndicalists, socialists, and radicals, and demanded that special measures should be taken against them.

"The more thoughtful people recognized the handiwork of the Jew and the German, and demanded the expulsion of all aliens. Many vaunted the ways of America and advocated lynching. In addition to the printed news, sinister rumors became current. Explosions had been heard at various places; everywhere bombs had been discovered; everywhere individuals, taken for malefactors, had been struck down by the popular arm and given up to justice, torn to ribbons. On the Place de la République a drunkard who was crying "Down with the police" was torn to pieces by the crowd.

"The President of the Council and the Minister of Justice held long conferences with the Prefect of Police, and they agreed to take immediate action. In order to allay the excitement of the Parisians, they arrested five or six hooligans out of the thirty thousand which the capital contains. The chief of the Russian police, believing he recognized in this attack the methods of the Nihilists, demanded, on behalf of his Government, that a dozen refugees should be given up. The demand was immediately granted. Proceedings were also taken for certain individuals to be extradited to ensure the safety of the King of Spain.

"On learning of these energetic measures, Paris breathed once more, and the evening papers congratulated the Government. There was excellent news of the wounded. They were out of danger and identified as their assailants all who were brought before them.

"True, Inspector Grolle was dead; but two Sisters of Mercy kept vigil at his side, and the President of the Council . . . laid the Cross of Honor on the breast of this victim of duty. . . . Meanwhile public opinion was still active in the matter; the leading papers, the organs of the national awakening, in articles of real depth and real elevation, unravelled the philosophy of this monstrous attack, which was revolting to the conscience. They discovered the real origin, the indirect but effective cause, in the revolutionary doctrines which had been disseminated unchecked, in the weakening of social ties, the relaxing of moral discipline, in the repeated appeals to every appetite, to every greedy desire. It would be needful, so as to cut down the evil at its root, to repudiate as quickly as possible all such chimeras and Utopias as syndicalism, the income tax, etc., etc., etc. Many newspapers, and these not the least important, pointed out that the recrudescence of crime was but the natural fruit of impiety and concluded that the salvation of society lay in an unanimous and sincere return to religion. On the Sunday which followed the crime the congregations in the churches were noticed to be unusually large."

When there was a disturbance in Penguinia, Anatole France tells us, a few socialists were clapped into jail and all was well—until the next time, when the performance was repeated. We are rapidly rivalling the practices in Penguin Island.

Brooklyn, July 22 EMILY Z. FRIEDKINS

Bombing and Bombing

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your editorial notes, July 12, there is an ironical reflection on the righteousness of bombing certain towns by airplanes or dirigibles. You seem to forget that bombing by the Allies was in reprisal for German barbarity. If it is true, as affirmed lately by the newspapers, that the English recently destroyed a large village in Egypt by that barbarous method, which of course could not have been a bombing reprisal, any reasonable person must recognize in palliation that the Egyptians, in the main, are a non-Christian and "backward" people and as such have no standing in court. *Fiat justitia ruat coelum.*

Leesburg, Va., July 15 DIXIE

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Literature

Field-Marshal French's Account

1914. By Field-Marshal Viscount French. Houghton Mifflin Company.

FIELD-MARSHAL FRENCH'S account of the operations of the British armies on the western front in 1914 is the first authoritative narrative of that remote period of the war, in its larger aspects. It throws much needed light on several incidents of the 1914 campaign—incidents which at the time baffled and exasperated some millions of amateur strategists and tacticians. It makes fairly clear, at least from the standpoint of Viscount French, much that was puzzling in his relations on the one hand with the Secretary of State for War, Lord Kitchener, and the British Government, and on the other with Maréchal Joffre and the French Government. It gives us glimpses of many of the principal actors in the first act of this momentous drama. And, incidentally, it throws a good deal of light on the character of Lord French, as man and general.

So many points invite comment that we can only venture to pick one here and there as illustrative of the rest. The narrative covers the period from the declaration of war by England, August 4, 1914, through the mobilization and sailing of the first Expeditionary Force consisting entirely of regulars, the retreat from Mons, the Battle of the Marne, the Battle of the Aisne, the siege and fall of Antwerp, the various phases of the first Battle of Ypres. This carries the purely military story of the war up to November 21. Five chapters follow in which Lord French describes the entry of the Territorials, reviews the Allied plans, and discusses what was at the time the most vital of all his problems, that of ammunition.

At the very outset it appears that a difference of opinion developed among the British military leaders as to the point of concentration for the British forces on their arrival in France. Lord Kitchener thought the proposed position on the left flank of the French at Maubeuge would be too exposed, and rather favored a concentration farther back in the neighbourhood of Amiens. Sir Douglas Haig suggested postponing any landing until the campaign had actively opened and it might be possible to judge in which direction British coöperation would be most effective. Lord French strongly opposed these ideas, and held out for the position on the left flank of the French armies, in which view he was supported by Generals Murray, Wilson, and Grierson, and Colonel Huguet, head of the French mission. Their views prevailed. It is interesting to note that the British and French General Staffs had for some years been in close secret consultation as to the best point of concentration for the British forces, and the position on the left flank was the result of their deliberations. Lord French's arguments for adhering to the plan of the General Staffs were that any alteration in carrying out the British concentration, particularly if this meant delay, would upset the French plan of campaign and create much distrust in the minds of England's Allies. Delay or hanging back would not only look like hesitation, but might easily entail disastrous consequences by permanently separating the already inferior forces of the Allies.

In the absence of any first-hand statement as to the reasons of Kitchener and Haig for suggesting alternative plans, it is difficult to get their points of view as it was in August, 1914. They were, of course, facing an unprecedented situation. The military lessons of the past were of very doubtful value, when the present problem had such uncertain factors as the modern rifle, the machine gun, modern field and heavy artillery, the aeroplane, wireless telegraphy, and motor traction. Moreover, they knew that neither the British army nor the French army had for considerably more than a generation come into conflict with a disciplined and thoroughly efficient European army, and the relative values of the various systems of organization and training had not yet been put to the final test of war. These and other similar considerations, taken in conjunction with the uncertainty as to where Germany would strike, east or west, may very well have been in the minds of both Kitchener and Haig when they suggested what amounted to a waiting game. Joffre was already holding the line with a fairly strong force. The British army at the outset was numerically so inferior that it could not add decisively to the strength of the line. If it could be held in the background as a reserve until the Germans showed their hand, it might be possible to throw it forward at some vital spot, or use it as the weapon in a flank attack.

All this may sound like a suggestion that the British generals were groping in the dark at the outset of the war. As a matter of fact, the accumulating evidence from authoritative sources tends to show that the military leaders on both sides of the great conflict were to a very large extent groping in the dark. Lord French is quite frank on the subject. "No previous experience," he says, "no conclusion I had been able to draw from campaigns in which I had taken part, or from a close study of the new conditions in which the war of today is waged, had led me to anticipate a war of positions. All my thoughts, all my prospective plans, all my possible alternatives of action, were concentrated upon a war of movement and manœuvre. I knew perfectly well that modern up-to-date inventions would materially influence and modify our previous conceptions as to the employment of the three arms respectively; but I had not realized that this process would work in so drastic a manner as to render all our preconceived ideas of the method of tactical field operations comparatively ineffective and useless." And he adds: "Judged by the course of events in the three first weeks of the war, neither French nor German generals were prepared for the complete transformation of all military ideas which the development of the operations inevitably demonstrated to be imperative for waging war in present conditions." He is clearly of the opinion that if the Allied generals had realized the true effect of modern appliances of war in August, 1914, there would have been no retreat from Mons; and he is equally convinced that if, in September, the Germans had learned their lesson, the Allies would never have driven them back to the Aisne. "It was in the fighting on that river that the eyes of all of us began to be opened."

It is impossible here to discuss General French's account of the several major operations of 1914. He does not so much add to our general knowledge of the retreat from Mons and the Battles of the Marne, the Aisne, and Ypres, as permit us to see them as he saw them from the viewpoint of commander-in-chief of the British armies, with all the principal strings in his own hands. It is probably much too early to attempt to distribute either the credit or the blame for what took place in 1914. General French is himself characteristically modest as to his own share of the credit, and equally insistent that as commander-in-chief he must himself shoulder the responsibility for any mistakes that were made. He is, however, very frank in his criticisms of the British Government, which, if he is to be believed, utterly failed to carry out the promise contained in Lord Kitchener's letter of instructions of August, 1914, of "whole-hearted and unswerving support." This feature of the story is, of course, a difficult and delicate one to touch upon. It is quite clear from Lord French's account of the campaign that his relations with Lord Kitchener became increasingly strained. He says of his old chief, in the later pages of his book: "As a soldier and commander in the field I had always loved and venerated him; in his capacity as a politician and Minister my sentiments and feelings towards him were never the same." And in a footnote to page 354 we find this significant passage: "I do not think Lord Kitchener was always credited by the country with the talent for command in the field which I know he really possessed, whilst on the other hand a rôle for which he was not well fitted was thrust upon him.

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As Commander-in-Chief in France it would have helped him very much to have had a Secretary of State *other than himself* to deal with." We have not, and may never have, Lord Kitchener's side of the story, but at least it is certain that he made the fatal mistake, on more than one occasion, of deliberately interfering with the authority of the General who had been entrusted with the supreme command in the field, who alone had before him all the facts necessary to form a safe judgment, and who alone must bear the blame of disaster. It must have been peculiarly exasperating to Lord French to read the statement of the Prime Minister, in response to public criticisms as to lack of ammunition, that the armies in the field were amply supplied, when he for months past had been repeatedly urging upon the Government the desperate need of increased supplies; and it must have been little short of maddening to know that, while the armies on the western front were in momentary peril of defeat for lack of ammunition, train-loads of shells were going through France on their way to Gallipoli. It was only after he had become convinced that no relief was to be hoped for from the Asquith Government that Lord French took the step which ended his career in France, and which nothing short of his conviction that the Empire itself was in jeopardy could have justified. He placed all the essential facts in the hands of the military correspondent of *The Times* for immediate publication, and sent his correspondence with the Government to Mr. Lloyd George. The result was the defeat of the Asquith Government and the formation of the Coalition Government, with Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions. "For my unprecedented action," concludes Lord French, "I claim that no other course lay open to me. To organize the nation's industrial resources upon a stupendous scale was the only way if we were to continue with success the great struggle which lay before us, and I feel that the result achieved fully warranted the steps I took."

The Gentle Cynic

The Gentle Cynic. By Morris Jastrow, Jr. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Company.

IT is always pleasant to meet true autumn natures—natures which have a place in them for Indian summer with its quiet sunlight and softened shadows and gentle breezes and gold-brown leaves. The character of The Gentle Cynic as sketched by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., comes close to the autumn type, and it is a pleasure to welcome him into the guild of autumnal spirits. The Gentle Cynic turns out to be an old friend, the author of Ecclesiastes, relieved by criticism of the mask which the timid piety of past ages had provided. He is now revealed as a delightful elderly gentleman, probably a bachelor, possibly by profession an M. D. Unable to lay by much of a competence, he was, nevertheless, not unduly soured by failure, but took to philosophy to comfort himself and had his little flings at the aimlessness of life and the conventionalities he saw about him. A cynic, at the same time he was a gentle cynic. There was no sear or yellow streak in him; he was merely mellow, acquiescing with a fair degree of cheerfulness in things as they are, including the graveyard. What a queer character to be associated with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the prophets and the martyrs! In fact, as Professor Jastrow tells us, Koheleth did not approve of martyrs at all. He took no stock in social uplift. "Who is able to straighten out what God has made crooked?" (VII:13). Too much righteousness and too much wisdom were not for him (VII:16). Moderation in all things, was his reiterated advice. Enjoy your meals with the zest of a barefoot boy, if you are still blest with an appetite, for the time will come when digestion will go, and exercise can no longer whet it, and other faculties of mind and body will take their departure, too. Like Jaques, that gentle cynic of the Forest of Arden, he will not allow you to forget the "second childishness and mere oblivion" that must end the play for all except those whom the gods sincerely love.

The special value of Professor Jastrow's book comes from two aspects of it: first, it weeds out the pious maxims of the present text of Ecclesiastes; and second, it insists that the cynicism of the author is a gentle cynicism, not biting, spiteful, or despairing. The discussion of the first point gives an excellent opportunity to instruct the general public, for whom the book is written, in the principles which enter into the composition, or rather the compilation, of Biblical literature. Ancient Semitic literature was almost exclusively anonymous. A book showed its vitality by the fact that it was capable of further expansion. Plagiarism was therefore not a vice but a virtue. The idea of authorship was a Greek idea, one of the expressions of the Greek insistence upon individualism. When this idea of authorship entered Palestine, the pendulum often swung from the extreme of anonymity to the extreme of pseudepigraphy. The new insistence upon authorship led to the attempt to secure authority for one's work by ascribing it to some author of repute. These facts explain Ecclesiastes. On the one hand it betrays the time in which it was written, the Greek period, by the fact that it uses a *nom de plume* and gives itself out as a work of Solomon. On the other hand, the work (in its present text) bears witness to the fact that the ancient Semitic habit of expanding a book was also still in force. The particular reason for expanding Ecclesiastes was to make it more palatable to the orthodox. If the author has chosen to speak through the mouth of Solomon, he must take the consequences and be made to conform to the traditional wisdom and traditional piety of Solomon. Hence arise the two main groups of additions to the original text, the glosses which sought to tone down the very unorthodox views of the writer, and the additions which attempted to conform it to the traditional wisdom literature. These various additions to the book are conveniently grouped in appendices, and thus the original text of the author (as Professor Jastrow conceives it to be) is allowed to stand forth freed of all encumbrances. The reasons for the eliminations as well as other most helpful interpretative material are found succinctly given in the footnotes to the text. It may be said in general of the critical discussions that, while showing in every detail evidence of the wide and accurate scholarship of Professor Jastrow, they are most successsfully stripped of technicalities, and the average reader, though unacquainted with critical methods, can follow the argument with ease and pleasure. The only caution which the reviewer is disposed to suggest is with reference to Professor Jastrow's discussion of the reason why Ecclesiastes is in our Bible (pp. 113-115). The idea that the formation of the Jewish Canon was due to the aim to preserve what was best in the literary legacy of the past needs considerable qualification to make it fit all the facts in the case.

But the real interest of the commentary and that which constitutes its most original contribution to the understanding of Ecclesiastes is Professor Jastrow's analysis of Koheleth's view of life. His cynicism has often been noted. It is the gentleness of this cynicism that Professor Jastrow so happily pushes to the foreground. Take the goods the gods provide you, but do not try to get more than is good for you. Koheleth is certainly not a Puritan, but then again he does not believe in dissipation. He has even a good word to say for work as enhancing the pleasure of subsequent play. To be sure, life is full of absurdities, perplexities, misfortunes; and death is the end of it all. There are the equinoctial storms in the fall. But there is also Indian summer. Though the teachings of Koheleth are inadequate to the evil times upon which we have fallen—and Professor Jastrow would be the last to deny this—still this sympathetic study of this most interesting pessimist, this veritable Heine of an age with few Heines in it, has a contemporary value as a relief to the strain of our grim days, in addition to the permanent value it possesses as a most suggestive contribution to the understanding of the strangest book in the Bible and one of the most captivating books in the world.

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Tolstoi Today

Why We Fail as Christians. By Robert Hunter. The Macmillan Company.

THE author of this book has hit upon a valuable method of presenting the case of the socialists to religiously-minded individualists. He devotes almost a half of his account to a moving presentation of the pathetic failure of Tolstoi, the leading individualist of our time, to gain inner satisfaction or permanent influence, and then advances his reasons for maintaining that the cause of that failure lay in Tolstoi's absolute refusal to organize his followers in an attempt to transform the social State. The force of the book lies in its first half. Mr. Hunter speaks from an intimate and sympathetic acquaintance with Tolstoi, and it is difficult to think of any book which touches profounder human emotions than this portrayal of the misery of a man who had given himself up utterly to find the truth, who was humble and wise enough to follow implicitly in the footsteps of Jesus to discover it, who had achieved the denial of self to such an extent that he could call out "almost at the point of death" to his friends from whom he had fled, but who crowded about him to nurse him: "Besides Leo Tolstoi there are many other people in the world, and you attend only to this Leo"; and yet who at the end was conscious of impotence and utter loneliness. Then followed the failure of his disciples to carry out his teaching—they either went to pieces, forsook his plan, or found themselves compelled to make efforts to bring about a new social environment.

We ask ourselves if it is conceivable that any of the rest of us could be more successful in impressing our personalities upon the social order and overturning it simply by revealing to it our absolutely love-filled spirits. Where Tolstoi and his zealous disciples failed, it is little likely that others will succeed. We must be willing, we begin to feel, to do what Tolstoi refused—to combine and bring about a Christian society wherein Christian love need not expend so much of its force in vain. And just as we are doubting the effectiveness of inner spiritual perfection to change the face of society even when combined with Tolstoi's passive boycott of capitalism, and are wondering if Jesus overlooked the economic factors of the problem, we are staggered by being told that Jesus was a communist and that Tolstoi erred not in following Jesus too literally, but in not following him literally enough. To Jesus, as to the Jew, the Kingdom of God was a central conception; to Tolstoi it is only a figure of speech. Jesus and his disciples had all things in common when he lived, and on being persuaded that he still lived after his death, his disciples immediately entered upon the communistic life. His teaching is only explicable on the theory of communism; the Sermon on the Mount and the parable of the laborers in the vineyard are full of its spirit.

Here Mr. Hunter is not on as familiar ground. He ignores much pertinent New Testament criticism, and the proofs he offers of the communism of Jesus—he leaves the word undefined—are not convincing. What Jesus meant by the Kingdom of God is one of the most debatable of matters, and the way men live on a preaching tour is not conclusive evidence of the way they would expect society to be constituted. It is hoped, however, that criticism of this book will not expend itself upon this single matter. Mr. Hunter has indicated that the teaching of Jesus is in harmony with a socialistic State and has supplied novel and strong arguments for concentrating Christian effort upon an attempt to transform the principles upon which our present society is founded. He has made the career of Tolstoi a social force. It may well be doubted, indeed, if Tolstoi's failure to leave his family earlier is not responsible for much of the impotence of his life, and it cannot be doubted that, even as it was, he achieved a vast spiritual success. But Mr. Hunter has brought a great human life to bear in telling fashion on one of the fundamental problems. That is a rare achievement.

Tragedy and Trifles

The Hand of the Potter. A Tragedy in Four Acts. By Theodore Dreiser. Boni and Liveright.

Judith. A Play in Three Acts. By Arnold Bennett. George H. Doran Company.

Everybody's Husband. By Gilbert Cannan. B. W. Huebsch.

Numbers and Other One-Act Plays. By Grover Theis. Nicholas L. Brown.

The Seven Who Slept. By A. Kingsley Porter. Boston: Marshall Jones Company.

Good Friday. A Passion Play of Now. By Tracy D. Mygatt. Introduction by John Haynes Holmes. Published by the Author.

THE proper character of the tragic hero has long been a fruitful subject of critical controversy. One recalls the old formula of the schools: he must not be ignoble, he must not be guiltless, he must occupy a reasonably important station in human society. In brief, he must be Œdipus, Macbeth, Wallenstein. Let us look at Mr. Dreiser's protagonist. Isadore Berchansky is the son of a Jewish peddler of thread and needles. He was born in an East Side slum. There were ten children. Four are dead. Of the six who survive four are normally energetic and decent people. But poor little Masha (who has the most sensitive soul) is a cripple, and Isadore a psychopathic degenerate. Twice, then, the hand of the Potter shook. From the point of view of the police records Isadore is a loathsome criminal. But in Mr. Dreiser's portrayal of him his struggle against his ghastly infirmity is not wholly ignoble; his guilt is merged into social and, in the last analysis, into cosmic forces; his importance is in his character as representative of the tragic consequence of ignorance, poverty, and oppression. He is not ignoble, he is not guiltless; he is important. To realize thoroughly the new meanings that here attach to the old form of words is to have grasped the fundamental change in thinking about human life which is the very soul of the age in which we live, an age in which so many new things are still known by old words and consequently hardly known at all. For it is not only the political map of the world that we must study anew. Ethical frontiers are also subtly shifting before our eyes.

Mr. Dreiser's dramaturgic structure is a little clumsy, a little awkward and helpless. The fourth act is plainly unnecessary. But in the three preceding acts there is such characterization and such a projection of the interplay of character through dialogue as we shall seek in vain in any other American play. The delineation of the Berchansky family is not less than masterly. The brothers and sisters could have been but of one blood; they could have been the children of no one but these parents; yet each is, in addition, a definite and peculiar personality. Best of all is the father, Aaron Berchansky. Mr. Dreiser, as he showed in the character of old Gerhardt, has always had a deep sense of the pathos of old age, of a genuine if rigid righteousness that has lost the battle and is stricken at the evidence that righteousness alone avails so little against the vast forces of the world. Berchansky, assuredly, has a tragic quality and appeal that belong to no age. He has them when he turns to the District Attorney: "If I had been a better fader maybe dis would not happen"; he has them, above all, when he silences the nagging landlord in words as characteristic as they are beautiful: "Vy pull at de valls of my house? Dey are already down!"

Mr. Arnold Bennett's "Judith" is an extraordinarily graceful performance. It is to "The Hand of the Potter" what a terra-cotta statuette is to a gigantic granite boulder. Mr. Bennett has left his solidity of workmanship and his admirable density of moral atmosphere behind him in the Five Towns. To "Judith" he has brought nothing but his skill and his wit. He has in no wise remoulded the characters or deepened the motivation of the old legend of the Apocrypha. He saw in it not, as Hebbel did,

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the hidden possibilities of a profound and tragic experience; he saw a picturesque action and the chance to express some truly just and ironic views of war. But the latter, in their very cerebral modernity, serve only to destroy the fragile historical illusion. Mr. Bennett's only other contributions to his action consist of a romantic and external love interest and of the obligatory comic relief. But Mr. Bennett, one suspects, had his eye primarily on the stage-picture—not on the city of Bethulia, dying of drouth under a brazen sky; not on the flash and glitter of the innumerable Assyrian tents in the plain of Jezreel, but consciously on the thin and brittle simulacra of these in a contemporary playhouse. The consequence is that his flames have no heat and his colors neither depth nor glow, and that the scenic artist will have no difficulty in embodying his vision in wood and paint and canvas. It goes without saying that the dramaturgic craftsmanship is most deft, that the ingenuities of the action are unobtrusive, that the gestures of the characters are correct. It is not only an unintelligent public that will be taken in by the politician Ozias and the prophet Chabris, even by Holofernes and Judith. The latter should be, in their different ways, lofty and impassioned. But Holofernes is only violent and Judith only prim. She kills him, having yielded nothing, of course, in an astonishingly casual manner, and is blandly cheerful on her next appearance. The Assyrian tent, the hot breath of danger, the woe of her people, the knife, the thrust, the grisly head in the sack, have left no impress on her woman's soul. But, then, why should they? For these tent hangings were woven on no ancient looms. They came from a London shop. The blood was paint, the dagger was tin, the head of Holofernes *papier maché*.

Mr. Gilbert Cannan's "Everybody's Husband" is a charming little dramatic fantasy. The Girl falls asleep on the eve of her marriage and escapes into a dream in which she meets not only her living Mother, but her dead Grandmother and Great-Grandmother. The Mother is Victorian, the Grandmother early Victorian. But the Great-Grandmother, whose escapades scandalized the family, went up to London for her first season shortly after Byron's death. It is she who breaks the convention of silence that hides the married state; she startles even the Mother and Grandmother into a gleam of frankness. But she cannot help the girl in her struggle against the Eternal Husband. For experience and the fruits of suffering and the impulses of freedom are not communicable. The dialogue is wise, humorous, and imaginative and develops the subject with both delicacy and strength.

The one-act plays of Mr. Grover Theis are neither very firm in structure nor quite clarified in their motivation and tendency. But they give evidence of an intelligent mind and a talent for the drama. It would be easy enough to emphasize the touches of false sophistication and the passages of wordy dialogue. It is juster to remark that in "Numbers" we have easily the most intelligent of the many one-act war plays that have appeared recently; that in "Between Fires" there is a rudimentary but deep sense of contending passions; that "There's a Difference" is a crude execution of a first-rate satiric idea. "The Crack in the Bell" is vague, and "Like a Book" is trivial. But in the other plays there is such promise—though as yet but little performance—as it is always pleasant to note in a new author.

Mr. A. Kingsley Porter has a philosophy which he explains in a long introduction and embodies in a short play. The philosophy is that since men seem to live only by illusions which but replace each other, the struggle against them is as foolish as it is vain. This doctrine is evidently a dangerous one and could be made an excuse for every folly and every cruelty. Both the introduction and the play are evidently the work of a cultivated amateur. They are scholarly and skilful without being important. "Good Friday" is a one-act play on the martyrdom of a conscientious objector. The reality of the problem is so insistent, its inherent tragic force so great, that both reach the heart despite the conventionality of the action and the ungainliness of the verse.

The Quest

The Journal of a Disappointed Man. By W. N. Barbellion. George H. Doran Company.
Mummery. By Gilbert Cannan. George H. Doran Company.
The Pale Horse. By "Ropshin." (Boris Savinkov.) Alfred A. Knopf.

THE various London rumors concerning the authorship of "The Journal of a Disappointed Man" need trouble no reader of that remarkable document. All good fiction is, in the ultimate sense, autobiographical; all autobiography completes, by some creative process, the outlines that life leaves jagged and apparently meaningless. Hence it matters little whether we have here the actual journals of a young British naturalist who was born in 1889 and died in 1917, or whether we have a distinguished novelist's projection of certain phases of his spiritual past. The present reviewer inclines to the first supposition; the significance of the volume remains the same in either case.

That significance is very great, although it is far from obvious. The sensitive reader will observe almost at once, of course, that Barbellion possessed a high degree of literary power, although its expression is usually a little cramped and hard and always fragmentary. But his spirit was not, in any easy or easily approachable way, an attractive one. He was very bitter, inordinately egoistic, and, when his early death became a certainty, merely determined to "toss these pages in the faces of timid, furtive, respectable people." He was a creature of divided aims, regretting that he was "neither pure-bred science nor pure-bred art"; he held the unpopular belief that "life is pain" and refused to let "any sophistry win him over to any other view"; he had an ugly and disconcerting habit of breaking a good many fundamental silences and thus, by a vicarious absence of shame, dragging into the light the hidden things in the hearts of others. The war came, but it changed him in no respect. He went on with his journals and his researches, drawing assurance from the fact that Goethe had studied the geography of China while the nations were embattled at Leipzig, and that Hegel worked at his "Phenomenology of the Spirit" while Napoleon crushed his country at Jena. Conscription alone aroused him. He was, of course, physically unfit for military service. But that was only an accident in his eyes. "To send me a notice," he exclaims, "requesting me to prepare myself for killing men! Why I should feel no more astonished to receive a War Office injunction, under dire penalties, to perform miracles, to move mountains, to raise from the dead. . . . I should sit still and watch the whole universe pass to its destruction rather than raise a hand to knife a fellow." What struck him in his environment was the "wild race for security," for "safe jobs" and "staff appointments," and the ugly rivalries and bitter recriminations that arose in this scramble. "Bereavement brought bitterness and immunity indifference." To most people, caught in the snares of the great tribal illusions, Barbellion must appear mean-spirited and unheroic at best.

Unheroic? That is precisely what he is not. Poor and ill and lonely, it never occurred to him that he could gain comfort through compromise either by yielding to the psychical forces about him or by relaxing the vigilance of his own mind. He permitted no collective mood, no popular passion, no uncritical assent to some easy consolation, to temper the bleakness of the spiritual weather in which he lived. He longed to be able to direct all his "energies to the great and difficult profession of life, of being man!" He was born late enough to have escaped all the traditional values of our civilization, and there is in his book no section, such as occurs in most autobiographies, that tells of his emancipation from any fixed religious or political faith. He started with a clean slate and knew at once and with an unfaltering certainly that it was the business of man to re-examine the sum of reality in nature and society and in his own mind, and to go on a quest for new values. His own quest was futile enough, if measured by the attainment of any visible goal.

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The warmth of a personal happiness did not come to him until he was doomed. His poverty and his appalling ill-health forced him into a continual preoccupation with sordid and meaningless things. But he was always bent upon his true business and gave in only to death itself. His book should be a bitter but a tonic document for all comfortable and healthy persons who drift with the easy currents of the collective life.

Mr. Gilbert Cannan's aim in "Mummery" is at bottom the same as Barbellion's. He announces it in his prefatory verses:

> In a world by Caliban
> Brutalized and done to death,
> We will weave a spell that Man
> May in Freedom draw his breath.

He has chosen the theatre, the London stage, as the scene of his quest, and introduces the reader to three idealists who, in their different ways, are in search of new values in both art and life —Charles Mann, scenic artist, Clara Day, actress, and Adnor Rodd, playwright. It must be confessed at once that Mr. Cannan has done better and sounder work than here. The three chief characters are all vague in themselves and are represented as having but the slightest hold on any sort of reality. Their quest is largely a quest in the blue. Charles Mann wants to do scenery of the Craig-Reinhardt school and detests actors because they clash with the moods that he is trying to project to the audience. That is intelligible, but neither new nor important. Clara Day starts out by refusing all love that includes the motive of possession and ends by joining Adnor Rodd in a marriage that one cannot grant Mr. Cannan as likely to be anything but uncommonly tiresome and stunting in the long run. What Adnor Rodd himself intends to do after destroying the manuscripts of his naturalistic plays does not appear at all. And throughout, as in his emphasis on Clara's failure to perceive the drift of her manager's emotions, Mr. Cannan indulges in little romantic slurrings of reality that are unworthy of him. The best thing in the book is the sardonic, full-length portrait of Sir Henry Butcher, the famous actor-manager. But Mr. Cannan attributes too much importance to him, as he does to all the people and circumstances of the theatre. The theatre cannot be reformed from within. Its necessary appeal is to groups of men. Change the group mind and it will create its own theatre. If you cannot do that, the Butchers are not the worst of evils.

There is an eerie thinness about Savinkov's study of the Russian revolutionists before the war. It is a picture of people whom hopeless effort and passionless rebellion have drained to an utter dryness of the soul. They have assassinated a provincial governor and have almost forgotten why they did so. Only one of them still believes in the cause. The others are either entangled in it like insects in a web, and wonder coldly at themselves and their own actions, or else, like Vania, they continue their terroristic activity although they believe it to be wrong. But in his quest for new values by which to live at all, Vania himself does not get beyond a vague and barren repetition of certain passages from the Gospels. Nothing could be more depressing than the spectacle of these men and women who love without ardor and fight without belief. To read their story and at the same time to remember the people of Artzibashev, is to realize profoundly that here was a society that needed to be shaken to its very depth to endure at all. As a piece of writing, "The Pale Horse" is worthy of the highest praise and the closest study. Beside it most other novels, whatever their other merits, would seem wordy and diffuse. There is the most stringent economy in the means of expression, but the words are very simple and there is no effort to seek the striking or the curious phrase. The book is like the work of an austere etcher. The lines are the fewest possible, but they are sharp and inevitable and yet unobtrusive, and the artist's landscape and his people arise at once and fully in the beholder's mind. It is worthy of note that an artist capable of such work is an active revolutionist and was Minister of War in the cabinet of Kerensky.

Narratives of the War

THE latest crop of personal narratives of the war, French, British, and American, represents a gleaning rather than a harvest. The field of major operations having been pretty well worked over, there has been a falling back all along the literary line to those fringes of the conflict where more time than blood was spent; or, if testimony has insisted on coming through from the front, it is the testimony not of persons who were in anything important, but of more or less inspired camp-followers, who idealized war at moderately close range, that is to say, at its back door. Exception may be made in the case of three books by Frenchmen who fought in France. "Le Journal de Commandant Raynal; Le Fort de Vaux" (Paris; Albin Michel) is a vivid chapter in the thunderous history of Verdun. Lieutenant-Colonel Raynal, who commanded the fortifications at Vaux during the summer of 1916, recites with fine feeling a tragedy that recalls Thermopylæ and the fight at Finnsburgh. Lieutenant Fonsagrive's "En Batterie!" (Paris; Delagrave) and André Fribourg's "Croire," translated by Arthur B. Maurice as "The Flaming Crucible" (Macmillan), follow more private fortunes with an affection for small details born of unforgettable crises. Lieutenant Fonsagrive, who was with the artillery at Verdun and along the Somme and the Aisne, leaves a record of rather greater military importance than is usually the case with accounts of this sort. The author of "The Flaming Crucible," a Parisian school-master so wounded in Flanders as to lose sight, taste, and smell, glorifies the monster that maimed him and attempts a reconstruction of other darkened lives on principles of faith. It may be ungracious to find fault with so unfortunate a man, yet surely it is not a vision of war clarified by faith that will make the world eventually worth coming into, but a vision of war purified by hatred like that of Henri Barbusse. The present volume reminds us of "Under Fire" in that it is the work of a highly sensitive observer of violent deeds, the difference being that whereas Barbusse is strengthened by his revolt against what he sees, Fribourg is hypnotized by excitement into hysterical acceptance of needless blood and filth. The book is written and translated in the swift, nervous present tense of imagistic French fiction, a tense which heightens the sensibilities of the person employing it and lends an air of imminence to what is said of danger and death. The effect in English is the not always happy one of a motion picture turned too fast. The anonymous letters of "An American Poilu" (Little, Brown) are the kind of letters a soldier ought to feel sheepish for. They were written home to Boston by a man in his thirties who, from being an orderly in the hospital at Neuilly, became a private soldier in a French regiment of infantry. Little confidences that might have been winning in a Frenchman are only tokens of effeminacy in the American; he finds it all so very delightfully terrible and *chic*, with no end of charming interludes and poetical experiences to have pretty thoughts about. It is possible that such dilettantism would have been less deplorable a year ago than now, but something or other about it must always have been offensive.

On the edges of the war zone, where indeed the present reviewer was an officer and a fixture, men kept busy enough, yet saw few things intrinsically worth describing. Their two or three or four years were crammed with meaning, perhaps, but mostly with incommunicable things that suggest private journals rather than published books. "Vagabonds of the Sea" (Dutton), translated from the French of René Milan by the late Randolph Bourne, follows the cruiser Waldeck-Rousseau for four years through the Adriatic and Ionian seas. Episodes of search and seizure, together with a few torpedoings, only punctuate a beautiful dream of sweetly perfumed Mediterranean bays and shores. V. J. Seligman, a British officer with the army at Salonica, warred against tedium over a period of

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three years by taking down notes which now are published as "Macedonian Musings" (Macmillan). The book has gusto, but comes short of what it might have been, a valuable gallery of Balkan types, for the reasons that the author is not especially penetrating and that he wastes the greater part of his steam in exposing what never has needed exposure, the idiocy of official psychology. Not everything that he tells is important or even interesting; he lacks perspective, like most persons who wish to tell how they participated in the war; but he has thrown some light on an obscure sector. Joseph Husband's "A Year in the Navy" (Houghton Mifflin) is disappointing after his "Year in a Coal Mine." He is excellent so long as he confines himself to machinery or the forces of nature; his account here of life on freight convoys and ocean destroyers is graphic and plunging. But his observations on men are egregiously tame. He begins with the Great Lakes Naval Training Station and goes thence to sea. He accepts the navy blandly, like a reporter or a propagandist, remarking respectfully upon the thorough gentlemen who are its officers and the splendid fellows who are its rank and file, and indulging in the familiar journalistic platitudes about the benefits which American youth is reaping from its discipline. It was possibly desirable that the war should be described by enthusiastic amateurs; interpretation calls for another grade of talent and disposition.

The grade of talent desired was scarcely to be found among the more or less helpful auxiliaries who hovered with sometimes creditable persistence near the French front and who often were keen observers. Helen Davenport Gibbons spent the summer of 1918 with her four children in a house at Loyer, past which American soldiers were in the habit of driving their trucks. "A Little Gray Home in France" (Century) piquantly retails the visits paid her from time to time by dusty and thirsty countrymen. Sooner or later every kind of American, white or black, came by; and Mrs. Davenport's pages sparkle with shrewd comment upon sons of most of the States from Maine to Texas. The book will make its appeal to those who are curious concerning the personal habits of the Expeditionary Forces. It can only shock a susceptible reader to come upon the author's meaningless and almost blasphemous remark at seeing a train of wounded boys: "Broken bodies, wrecked nerves, you say?—Ah! but tempered souls." George Birmingham, the Irish novelist, went to war as a chaplain and made a dull book out of it. "A Padre in France" (Doran) is mature but mild. The war is accepted, or assumed, and the padre makes placid observations about morals and recreation, especially recreation; it seems that the French soldier was partial to conversation and carving, while the British soldier went in for whistling and whittling. Vindication of Y. M. C. A. secretaries will not proceed any faster for the appearance of "The Fight for the Argonne" (Abingdon Press) by William Benjamin West. Those who have suspected the secretarial race of an insupportable condescension will only be confirmed in their suspicions by reading here how they "gave just the hand-pressure of deep sympathy" and "the cheery word of hope and faith" to men *facing West*. Those who have denied Y. M. C. A. secretaries a sense of humor will smile upon being told that soldiers in the huts returned more thoughtfully to their card games after an interruption consisting of hymns and Scripture, or that the infantryman who was met in a front-line trench with *I need Thee every hour* printed across the front of his gas mask" was the token of a religious rebirth somewhere among the dugouts. And those who have doubted the secretaries' fineness of spiritual grain will retain those doubts after learning that "we held our breath in anxious joy as we watched him [a German aviator] drop two thousand feet or more," or after observing that Mr. West has inexplicably gone out of his way to describe three ghoulish deaths by razor, bayonet, and rope.

More spirited and sensible than any of these books is Ian Hay's "The Last Million" (Houghton Mifflin), wherein the clever Scotchman who celebrated Kitchener's first hundred thousand comes over as a friendly propagandist to do the American Expeditionary Forces. Major Beith has been at more pains than most of his countrymen have been to understand the language and the ways not only of the New Yorker and the Bostonian, but of the Iowan, the Kentuckian, and the pure Southern Negro.

The best, however, of all the war books now at hand are those which recount escapes from German military prisons. The British and American officers who are the authors are high-strung men with stories that tell themselves. Captain H. G. Gilliland was a British prisoner of war at Hanover-Munden, Bischofswerda, Clausthal, Dresden, and Ingoldstadt. In "My German Prisons" (Houghton Mifflin) he sets forth his adventures in amazing detail. His picture of prison life is unconsciously a tribute to the vast animal spirits of Britishers everywhere; it appears that Ingoldstadt was a veritable den of wildcats, which is to say, of captivating British officers digging and clawing their way out. The days of a German guard were days of torment, with quintessential insult and uproarious derision served them for a steady fare by their untamable captives. Captain Gilliland's flight to Holland is first-rate fiction, or the material for such; it shows that no embellishment is needed for an intrinsically rousing tale. In a pursuit like this one, the simple words "A man appeared at the edge of the woods" is enough to set the heart of an ardent reader thumping. Captain J. A. L. Gaunter's vivid "13 Days" (London; Bell) deals mostly with the fascinating circumstances of his flight to the Dutch border over ground somewhat similar to that covered by Captain Gilliland. Lieutenant Edouard Victor Isaacs, U. S. N., was captured by a submarine during the last summer of the war and conveyed around the British Isles to German waters, his captors stopping among the Hebrides to hunt wild sheep. He fled from Villingen to Switzerland a month before the armistice and wrote his "Prisoner of the U-90" (Houghton Mifflin) a book which, though roughly put together, admirably takes its place in the literature of American escape along with the narratives of Andersonville.

Books in Brief

OF the many histories of phases of the war written while yet war was being waged, Meyer Bloomfield's "Men and Management" (Century) is a fair sample. One-third of the book is made up of slightly enlarged articles originally contributed to one of our most widely read weekly journals, and the rest is made up of appendices comprising statements by labor bodies, government reports, conference pronouncements, industrial surveys, and trade agreements. The whole is frankly journalistic, and bears, both in its style and general planning, the marks of hasty work. Serious students will regret such omissions as that of any reference to the report of the Garton Foundation, by far the most profound single statement of the industrial situation in England that has been made by a joint body; and the extended appendix would be more useful had it been arranged in an orderly fashion and illuminated by explanatory notes or connected discourse. The book is chiefly valuable in that it adds another readable volume to the growing list of those studies of modern England which inform American readers that the England of today is not the England of *Punch* and afternoon tea, but an England on the verge of a social revolution. Mr. Bloomfield does not lose the opportunity to drive this lesson home, or to point out that in America we must learn to manage our affairs so as to assure our workers "larger returns than before in self-respect, satisfaction, and security." "Men and Management" is by no means the complete work which it pretends to be. Yet much of its strength lies in this very fact; consciously or not, the writer succeeds in giving us a picture of a nation struggling with many hard issues, struggling with infinite good-humor on the whole, and with infinite patience.

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The Drama

The Jewish Art Theatre

A PROJECT which, by virtue of its aims, merits for itself the attention of those interested in the theatre primarily as a collaboration of the arts will have its debut during the early part of September on the occasion of the opening of the Jewish Art Theatre, under the direction of Emanuel Reicher, at the old Garden Theatre. It is hoped through the character of the presentation to make manifest a revolt in the Yiddish theatre of America. That theatre, in the sense in which it is commonly understood, has for long been under the blight of the star system, a system which has been more frankly acknowledged and the vices of which more frankly emphasized by the Yiddish than by the English-speaking managers. The new theatre will attempt to present not only the best Yiddish drama, but also translations of "foreign" plays after the fashion of the Moscow Art Theatre. It will attempt to make drama mean what it means among the modern: a collaboration of all the arts which enter into the presentation of a play, acting, staging, lighting, costuming, to the end that these arts shall coöperate in the satisfaction of all the senses.

The first three plays which are scheduled to be performed are "The Idle Inn," by Hirshbein, "The Dumb Messiah," by David Pinski, and "The Beaver Coat," by Hauptmann. Hirshbein's plays, as a rule, are idyllic folk-comedies, and "The Idle Inn" is no exception. Hirshbein has been compared, in his whimsicality, to Barrie. Almost all of this Yiddish writer's plays are staged against the background of a Russian village or in the open country, whereas Pinski usually places his characters in the environment of the Ghetto. Both these dramatists are beloved by their people, though only Pinski has achieved translation in English and the definite approval of such a dramatic critic as Professor Baker of Harvard. With the addition of Jacob Gordin, these Yiddish playwrights may be accounted the masters of Yiddish drama. Gordin, however, has been set down as somewhat *passé*, and, in spite of his popularity, none of his works will be put on.

As artistic coöperators with Mr. Reicher there have been engaged Leon Foshko, a young Jewish painter, whose task it will be to design the scenery, and Louis Bromberg, whose work in some of the little theatres and in The Theatre Workshop has already brought him favorable notice. Mr. Bromberg will design the stage settings and the decorations.

Decisions vitally affecting the theatre will not be left to one person. The theatre will be managed, professionally at least, by a literary-art advisory board, which will consist of members of the cast, the dramatic critics of the Yiddish press, and the art and executive staffs of the theatre.

H. P. S.

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[PILGRIMAGE: IV]

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Lynd, Robert. Old and New Masters. Scribners. $3.75.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Chirol, Valentine. Cecil Spring-Rice. London: John Murray. 6s.

Daniel De Leon. The Man and His Work. A Symposium. National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party. $1.75.

Holland, Bernard. Memoir of Kenelm Henry Digby. Longmans, Green. $5.

McLeish, John L. High Lights of the Mexican Revolution. Cincinnati: Menace Press.

Wilcox, E. H. Russia's Ruin. Scribners. $5.

Zook, George F. The Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa. Reprinted from The Journal of Negro History, April, 1919.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Deutsch, Babette. Banners. Doran. $1.25.

Michel, Louis. The Tortured Negro, or The Cry for Justice. The Author. 25 cents.

Trench, Herbert. Poems. With Fables in Prose. Dutton. 2 vols.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Forbes, Rosita. Unconducted Wanderers. Lane. $3.50.

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The Nation

International Relations Section

VOL. CIX TWO SECTIONS—SECTION II OF THE NATION—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1919 NO. 2827

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The Russian People and the Soviets

By JEROME DAVIS

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ON July 10, 1918, the Fifth All-Russian Congress adopted a Constitution. Most of its provisions had been in actual operation for some time, although they had not been formally enacted into the fundamental law. The accompanying chart shows the structure of the Soviet Government. Representation is by occupational rather than geographical units. Even in the country districts the peasants do not elect from a large area, such as our Congressional district, but at a mass meeting of all the inhabitants of each village or group of villages.

I had been in Russia for nearly three years. I had seen the Czar's system at work for over a year and I knew it was not popular. Under the Kerensky régime I knew that the soviet was the real power throughout Russia and was supported by a large majority of the people. When Lenin took power, I was acting in charge of all the Y. M. C. A. war work in Russia and was bitterly opposed to the Bolsheviki. Had I been a Russian I should have fought them. I was opposed to them in July and I am opposed to them now. Therefore, with the Bolsheviki in control, I determined to find out how small a percentage of the Russian people really backed their soviets. In the course of my work I had occasion to make a trip of over a month's duration down the Volga River. I decided to stop along the way to investigate the city and village soviets. With this purpose in view I prepared a list of 26 questions which I asked of soviet leaders, of the clergy, of business men, of teachers; in short, of all classes of citizens with whom I came in contact. I shall give the results which were in the main agreed to by those I interviewed. Instead of presenting a general summary, I shall take representative places of different size.

The village of Sakolskoi, County of Makaravskoi, is in the Government of Kostroma, 80 miles north of Nizhni Novogorod on the Volga River. The village "Mir," or open meeting of the inhabitants, had always existed. The first time they organized and elected a soviet was in January, 1918. Since then there had been but a single reëlection, as no definite time had been set for one. The party of Left Social Revolutionists had been in control all the time. The elections were honestly conducted and anyone had the right to vote. The voting took place in open meeting and was by upraised hand. Usually the priests and the landlords stayed away because they felt they would be hopelessly outvoted.

The next higher soviet is the "volost" or township of villages. Under the constitution, each village is entitled to send one delegate to the volost for each ten representatives in the village soviet. It seemed to be the real local administrative unit. There were fifty-four villages or "celos" in the volost of Sakolskoi and at first each village elected its own representative. At the last election they decided to try a new plan. Since all the villages were within a ten-verst (a verst is two-thirds of a mile) radius of a center, they allowed anyone who wished to come to the volost election. This resulted in an attendance of 500, or an average of about ten voters from each village. As the villages were small, this was not so bad an average as it would appear. The Soviet had organized a library with 300 volumes besides many daily newspapers. It had charge of the distribution of the land and all agreed that it had divided it fairly. The church had offered to loan two-thirds of its land to the soviet and the soviet had accepted, so that the church still retained one-third of its land and held title to all. The schools, formerly managed by the church, were now under the government. According to the priest, all the orthodox ritual has been dropped, although they still permitted him to teach the Bible. He said, "The children are allowed to come to me for further instruction after school hours if they care to, but none come. The church has otherwise been unmolested, except that the robber Soviet takes the money we used to collect from our rented buildings."

I visited another volost on June 6. Here were 26 villages with a total population of 4,000 and an adult population of about 2,000. All were within a radius of six versts. They had always had a village "mir," and when the soviets began

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to be organized it became the Soviet. The elections were fairly conducted except that the Bolsheviki deceived the people with alluring promises, according to the testimony of the priest. Although every one, including the priests and the landlords, was allowed to vote, usually only the younger men took any interest in the elections. The priest himself said, "I could be elected if I could get enough people to vote for me but I know it is hopeless to expect the peasants to do that, so I stay away." Elections were held every six months. At the last election a bourgeois or propertied peasant was elected head of the local soviet. Under the Czar's régime he had been a leader in the zemstvo and the local government. He was opposed to the Bolsheviki, but believed in the Soviets. The village which was the headquarters for the volost had 12 elected representatives in its soviet, and the people said they were honest and capable men.

From the volost, delegates were usually sent to the Uyezd or county soviets. I visited several of these and found them much the same as the smaller units. In two cases the majority of the members were Social Revolutionists and opposed to the Bolsheviki, but they had absolute authority and freedom so far as local affairs were concerned. All classes of the people, from the priests to the wealthy peasants, seemed to be satisfied that the delegates were true representatives of the people. The charge which they continually kept making was that outside agitators were being sent in and deceiving the peasants by campaign speeches. As we are familiar with this in America, we cannot condemn it very severely. Doubtless the people in Russia are more ignorant and so more easily led. Nevertheless, the peasants have had a little experience with politicians. Under the Czar's régime, they were forced to elect propertied men for the Duma. The peasants elected those who promised to vote for land reform and radical measures. They then collected funds of their own and sent a peasant they could trust to Petrograd to sit in the gallery of the Duma and see whether the elected delegate voted as he had promised.

In most of the counties, the soviets were doing much to stimulate education. In some cases compulsory school-laws had been passed, and everywhere libraries were being opened at which newspapers, magazines, and a few books could be read. The paper which was always sure to be in the library was the *Isvestia*, the official organ of the soviets. The hospitals were being kept up and the medical staff increased, although drugs and equipment were woefully short.

The Gubernia or provincial soviet usually met in the capital of the province. Thus the city of Nizhni Novogorod was the centre for the province of the same name. During June, 1918, I ascertained the concensus of representative opinion about this Gubernia soviet. Theoretically, the elections came every six months. Since the first revolution in April, 1917, there had been two elections, and a third was in progress. The Mensheviki were first in power, then the Social Revolutionists, and after them the Bolsheviki. According to the soviet leaders, every resident over 18 years of age could vote, including capitalists, landlords, and priests. However, only that part of the population which was organized took part in the elections. There were twelve counties in the province, and the soviet had representatives from them all. Nizhni Novogorod had one representative on the central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets at Moscow. Most of the residents with whom I talked thought that the elections were perhaps conducted fairly but that those who wanted to agitate in favor of parties other than the Bolsheviki did not have a fair opportunity to do so in the city. It was generally admitted that the chairman of the soviet and the great majority of the delegates were honest although fanatical men. The soviet had requisitioned some buildings belonging to the churches but was using them for a school for the war cripples. A university was being opened by the Bolsheviki. The head professors seemed most capable men, and were opposed to the Bolsheviki. They offered Miss Childs, an American Y. W. C. A. secretary, supervision of the courses in domestic economy, and to provide her with equipment.

Let us now consider the city soviet, the backbone of the soviet power. The Constitution provides that in the city there shall be one delegate for every 1,000 inhabitants. Each organized group of workers, whether of brain or hand, elects its own representative to the city soviet. Thus each factory and shop elects its representative. The doctors have a union and elect their representative. The lawyers also elect theirs, as do the teachers. This extends down through all the various classes, so that even the waiters, the cab drivers and the housewives frequently organize. Unfortunately, the small shop-keepers usually are unrepresented, because they do not form a union. On a certain fixed day an election occurs. Each party has the right to nominate its own candidates. The balloting is by number. I visited one of the voting booths in a factory at Moscow on election day. Each party had a certain number; thus (1) might be the Social Revolutionists, (2) the Bolshevists, (3) the Menshevists, etc. On a chart hanging up in the election room of the factory were the names of the parties with their proper numbers. An election committee representing every party was present; and as each man voted, his name was checked off. A man or woman voted by simply writing the number of the party he supported on the ballot and depositing it in a box.

Let us take, as a concrete illustration, the city soviet of Kazan. I visited the city in June, 1918, and interviewed business men, priests, and workers. The headquarters of the Social Revolutionists were open. Pictures of Breshkovskaya, Kerensky and other party leaders were hung on the walls, and were for sale. I purchased several of these, as well as a political calendar bitterly attacking the Bolsheviki. The following facts I quote from the representative of the Social Revolutionists there; and because they were bitterly opposed to the Bolsheviki I take it that the evidence will at least not be over-drawn in their favor. The unit for elections among the workers is the factory, as distinguished from the trade. All the working classes, from the newsboys to the waiters, have their organizations, and all send their representatives to the soviet. The only people who have so far not done so are the cab-drivers and the wives. They have not been interested enough to form organizations, but undoubtedly will do so. The elections are fairly conducted, but the Social Revolutionist party is not allowed to send its paper directly to the factory as the Bolsheviki do; we can have it sent to the workers' home but that costs money. Unquestionably the overwhelming number in the city are now in favor of the Bolsheviki, but they are deceived by glowing promises and will sometime be disillusioned. From all the testimony I could gather from business men and priests, the leaders in the soviet were sincere men who were trying to do constructive things. They always treated our Y. M. C. A. representative fairly and he remained in Kazan

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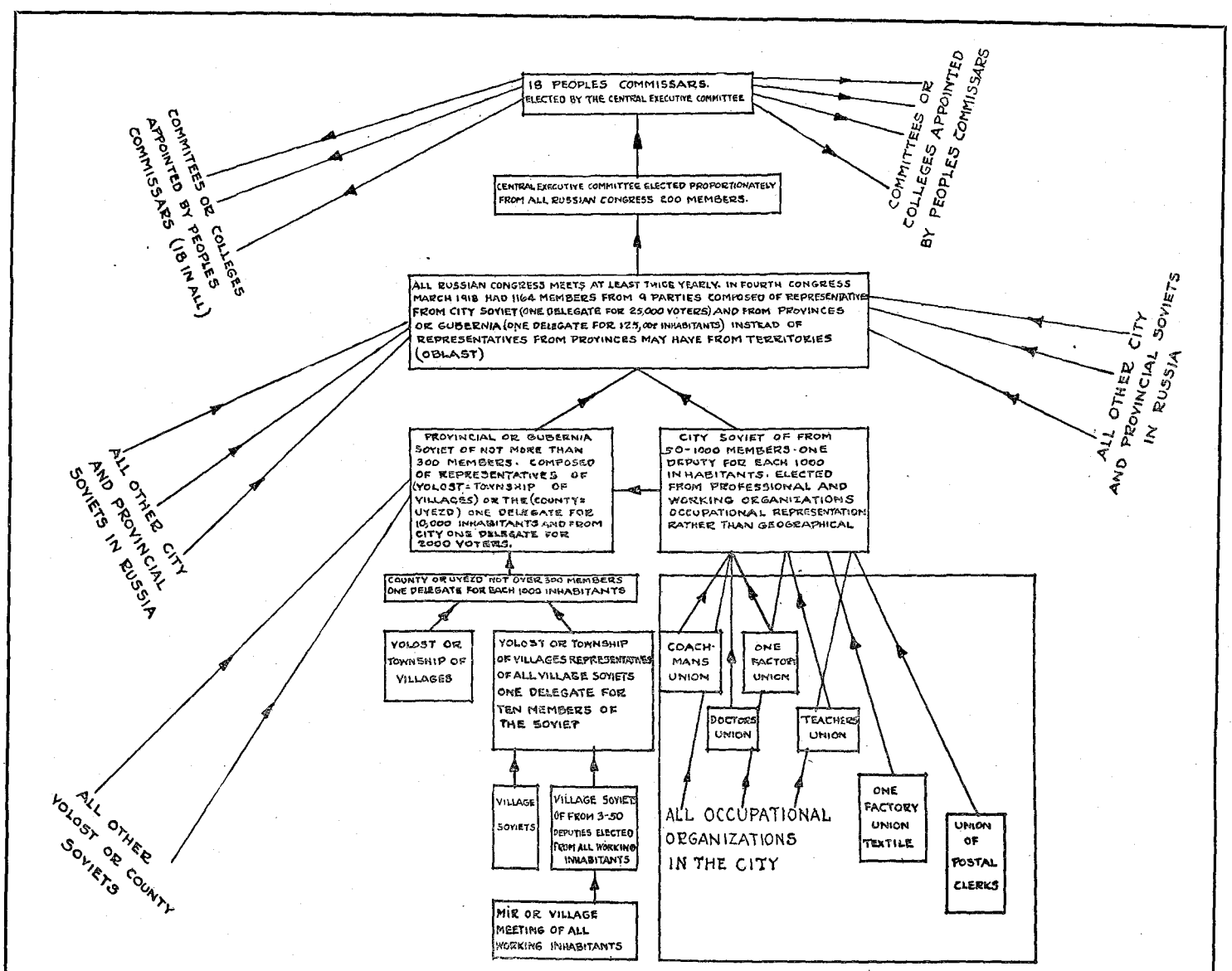
18 PEOPLES COMMISSARS. ELECTED BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
COMMITTEES OR COLLEGES APPOINTED BY PEOPLES COMMISSARS (18 IN ALL)
COMMITTEES OR COLLEGES APPOINTED BY PEOPLES COMMISSARS
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ELECTED PROPORTIONATELY FROM ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS 200 MEMBERS.
ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS MEETS AT LEAST THICE YEARLY. IN FOURTH CONGRESS MARCH 1918 HAD 1164 MEMBERS FROM 9 PARTIES COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM CITY SOVIET (ONE DELEGATE FOR 25,000 VOTERS) AND FROM PROVINCES OR GUBERNIA (ONE DELEGATE FOR 125,000 INHABITANTS) INSTEAD OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM PROVINCES MAY HAVE FROM TERRITORIES (OBLAST)
ALL OTHER CITY AND PROVINCIAL SOVIETS IN RUSSIA
ALL OTHER CITY AND PROVINCIAL SOVIETS IN RUSSIA
PROVINCIAL OR GUBERNIA SOVIET OF NOT MORE THAN 300 MEMBERS. COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF (VOLOST = TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES) OR THE (COUNTY = UYEZD) ONE DELEGATE FOR 10,000 INHABITANTS AND FROM CITY ONE DELEGATE FOR 2000 VOTERS.
CITY SOVIET OF FROM 50-1000 MEMBERS - ONE DEPUTY FOR EACH 1000 INHABITANTS. ELECTED FROM PROFESSIONAL AND WORKING ORGANIZATIONS OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION RATHER THAN GEOGRAPHICAL
COUNTY OR UYEZD NOT OVER 300 MEMBERS ONE DELEGATE FOR EACH 1000 INHABITANTS
VOLOST OR TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES
VOLOST OR TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL VILLAGE SOVIETS ONE DELEGATE FOR TEN MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET
COACHMANS UNION
ONE FACTORY UNION
DOCTORS UNION
TEACHERS UNION
ONE FACTORY UNION TEXTILE
UNION OF POSTAL CLERKS
ALL OCCUPATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CITY
VILLAGE SOVIETS
VILLAGE SOVIETS OF FROM 3-50 DEPUTIES ELECTED FROM ALL WORKING INHABITANTS
MIR OR VILLAGE MEETING OF ALL WORKING INHABITANTS
ALL OTHER VOLOST OR COUNTY SOVIETS

CHART OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA

until the Czechs had captured the city and it had been retaken by the soviet forces. He says the people were glad to have the soviets back.

Above the city and provincial Soviets comes the All-Russian Congress. I was present at every one of the five Congresses held while I was in Russia up to October, 1918. The All-Russian Congress meets every six months, or oftener on special call. Since the Bolsheviki have been in power there have been six; or about one Congress every four months. The past year has been, of course, unprecedented. The Bolsheviki have had to form the entire government, try to put all their socialistic principles in practice, and construct a political machine that would function. In order to understand how such a Congress works, we shall take the proceedings of the Fourth Extraordinary Congress of the Council of the Workmen's Soldiers', Peasants', and Cossacks' deputies. My facts in regard to this Congress are taken from personal observation and from the official record of the translated stenographic proceedings made by the American Consul General, a copy of which is now in my possession. When this Congress opened there were 1,084 delegates with a deciding vote and 80 delegates with a consulting vote. They belonged to the different parties as follows: Bolsheviks, 732; Left Social Revolutionists, 238; Anarchists, 14; Unionists, 24; Social Democrat Internationalists, 16; Social Democrat Ukraines, 3; Non Partisan, 18; Social Revolutionists Center, 15; Social Revolutionists Maximalists, 24. Col. Raymond Robins, Commander of the American Red Cross in Russia, had in his possession for 18 hours, 1,184 credentials of the delegates to this Congress. In some instances there were three credentials from three villages behind one delegate. These credentials were submitted to a titled Russian on the one hand and a Menshevik Russian on the other hand, and Mr. Robins had their statement that to the best of their knowledge and belief they were authentic. The credentials came from soviets as far east as Vladivostock, as far west as Smolensk, as far north as Murmansk, and as far south as Odessa. This Congress, therefore, really did represent a majority of the people.

On opening, the Congress immediately elected a Mandate Commission composed of one member for every one hundred delegates, but factions having twenty or more were also entitled to a representative. This Mandate Commission had the task of considering all credentials and seating delegates. When the Congress closed it had seated 1,198 members. The Congress was only in session three days,

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March 14, 15, and 16. On the whole it was conducted with fairness to all parties, as far as I could judge. Before it disbanded a permanent executive committee of 200 members was elected which remained in office until the next All-Russian Congress elected their successors. For every six delegates there was one member on the Executive Committee. Each party, according to its strength, was allowed to place the representatives it desired on this committee. This executive committee is the real power in the Soviet Government, and elects or dismisses the People's Commissars at will.

It must always be remembered that the Bolsheviki are merely one party, but that the Soviets are a form of government. Although I was bitterly opposed to the Bolsheviki, I became convinced, after a detailed study of the soviets and their organization, that they did represent the Russian people. After the German Ambassador had been killed and the Left Social Revolutionists imprisoned, it was perhaps true that the majority of the people were opposed to the Bolsheviki, but even then they believed in the soviets. Since that time the Bolsheviki may have regained popularity. Because of my experience I can well understand how Isaac Don Levine, who left America bitterly opposed to the Bolsheviki, should now wire from Moscow, "Never in the history of modern Russia has any government had more real authority than the soviet system. Even the blind observer here quickly sees that a formidable majority of the nation favors the Soviet Government."

A Speech by Anatole France

THE following address was made by Anatole France before the Congress of Teachers' Institutes at Tours on August 7, as reported in *l'Humanité*.

Citizens, Dear Comrades: It is an old friend who addresses you. He stood with you, beside the great Jaurés, in 1906, when you began the fight for the right to organize. This right assured, it is for you to regulate its usage; and this is why your syndicates are now assembled.

This Congress has yet another object of capital importance: the reorganization of elementary education. Count only upon yourselves to accomplish it; prudence will be your guide.

It was with veritable joy that I read in a newspaper yesterday the thought of our friend Glay on this subject. "War," he said, "has sufficiently demonstrated that the popular education of tomorrow must be entirely different from that of yesterday." I have hastened to open my heart to you: I see that yours are in accord with mine.

Teachers, dear friends, it is with ardent emotion that I address you; deeply sttirred with anxiety and hope that I speak to you. And how could I fail to be deeply moved when I consider that the future is in your hands, and that it will be for the most part what your spirit and your care shall make it?

In developing the child, you will determine the future. What a task at this hour, when the world is crumbling, when the old order of society sinks under the weight of its sins; and when conquerors and conquered are alike plunged in a common misery, in which they bandy expressions of hatred.

In the social and moral disorder created by the war and perpetuated by the peace which has followed it, you have everything to do, everything to rebuild. Have courage! Be of good cheer! It is for you to create a new humanity, it is for you to awake a new intelligence, if you do not wish Europe to fall into madness and barbarism. People will say to you, "To what purpose so much exertion? Man does not change." So! He has changed since the age of the cave-dweller, now for the worse, now for the better. He changes with environment, and it is education which transforms him, even more perhaps, than air and food. Certainly the education which has rendered possible, which has favored (being practically uniform among the peoples whom we call civilized) the frightful catastrophe under which we are now half-buried, should not be allowed to endure for a moment. And above all, it is necessary to banish from the schools everything which makes children love war and its crimes; and this alone will require long and constant efforts, unless all of its panoplies should be swept away at an early day by the breath of world revolution.

In our bourgeoisie, great and small, and even in our proletariat, the destructive instincts for which we justly reproached the Germans are carefully cultivated. Some days ago the amiable La Fouchardière asked a bookseller for books for little girls. They gave him only stories and pictures of murders, butcheries, massacres, and exterminations. Next Mi-Carême we shall see at Paris, in the Champs Elysées and on the boulevards, thousands and thousands of little boys dressed by the inept care of their mothers as generals and marshals. The cinema will show them the beauties of war: thus they will be prepared for the military career; and while there are soldiers there will be wars. Our diplomats have left armies to the Germans in order to be able to keep them themselves. In their swaddling clothes men are prepared to be soldiers.

My friends, we must break with these dangerous practices. The teacher must make the child love peace and its works; he must teach him to detest war; he will banish from education all that which excites hate for the stranger, even hatred of the enemy of yesterday; not that it is necessary to be indulgent to crime and to absolve all the guilty, but because a people, whatever it may be, at whatever hour, is composed of more victims than criminals, because the punishment of the guilty should not be visited upon the innocent generations, and because, finally, all peoples have much to pardon each other.

In a beautiful book which has just appeared, and which I counsel you to read, *Les Mains Propres*, an essay of education without dogma, Michel Corday has written these fine words, which I use to reinforce my own. He said: "I hate that which reduces man to the level of the beast, forcing him to attack whatever does not resemble him."

Oh, that idea! I pray with all my heart for its disappearance from the surface of the earth. I have hate only for hatred.

My friends, make hatred hated! It is the most necessary and simple part of your task; the state to which a devastating war has reduced France and the whole world imposes upon you duties extremely complex and consequently extremely difficult to fulfil. Pardon me for returning to this; it is the great point upon which everything depends. It is for you, without hope of aid or support, or even of consent, to change primary education from the ground up, in order to make workers. There is place today in our society only for workers; the rest will be swept away in the storm. Make intelligent workers, instructed in the arts they practice, knowing what they owe to the national and to the human community.

Burn all the books which teach hatred. Exalt work and love. Let us develop reasonable men, capable of trampling under foot the vain splendor of barbaric glories, and of resisting the sanguinary ambitions of nationalisms and imperialisms which have crushed their fathers.

No more industrial rivalries, no more wars: work and peace. Whether we wish it or no, the hour is come when we must be citizens of the world or see all civilization perish. My friends, permit me to utter a most ardent wish, a wish which it is necessary for me to express too rapidly and incompletely, but whose primary idea seems to me calculated to appeal to all generous natures. I wish, I wish with all my heart, that a delegation of the teachers of all nations might soon join the Workers' Internationale in order to prepare in common a universal form of education, and advise as to methods of sowing in young minds

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ideas from which would spring the peace of the world and the union of peoples.

Reason, wisdom, intelligence, forces of the mind and heart, whom I have always devoutly invoked, come to me, aid me, sustain my feeble voice; carry it; if that may be, to all the peoples of the world, and diffuse it everywhere where there are men of good will to hear the beneficent truth! A new order of things is born. The powers of evil die, poisoned by their crime. The greedy and the cruel, the devourers of peoples, are bursting with an indigestion of blood. However sorely stricken by the sins of their blind or corrupt masters, mutilated, decimated, the proletarians remain erect; they will unite to form one universal proletariat, and we shall see fulfilled the great socialist prophecy: "The union of the workers will be the peace of the world."

Documents

The British-Afghan Treaty

A REUTER dispatch in *The Times* (London, August 11), gives the terms of the recent British-Afghan treaty as follows:

Article I. From the date of signing this treaty, peace is declared between the British and Afghanistan Governments.

Article II. In view of the circumstances which have brought on the present war the British Government, as a mark of displeasure, withdraw the privilege enjoyed by the former Amirs of importing arms and ammunition or warlike munitions through India.

Article III. The arrears of the late Amir's subsidy are furthermore confiscated, and also no such subsidy is to be granted to the present Amir.

Article IV. At the same time the British Government are desirous of the reëstablishment of the old friendship that has so long existed between Great Britain and Afghanistan, provided that they have guarantees that the Afghan Government are sincerely anxious to regain our friendship. The British Government are prepared, provided the Afghans prove their sincerity by acts and conduct, to receive another Afghan mission after six months for the discussion and settlement of matters of common interest to the two Governments and the reëstablishment of the old friendship on a statisfactory basis.

The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Amir.

They further agree to the early demarcation by a British Commission of the undemarcated portion of the West Khyber, where the Afghan aggression happened, and will accept such boundary as the British Commission lays down.

The British troops on this side of the border will remain in their present positions until the new demarcation has been effected.

Self-Determination for Cyprus

THE following appeal for the reunion of Cyprus with Greece appeared in *The Times* (London) of July 21:

Sir: For some time past a number of letters have appeared in the Press on the future of Cyprus. Some of the writers—to whom we take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude—have strongly advocated the cession of the island to Greece, while others have opposed this solution, chiefly on military grounds. These writers are apparently not well acquainted with the salient facts connected with Cyprus. We shall consequently be obliged if you will kindly grant us space to put briefly our case once more before the British public through the columns of *The Times*.

Cyprus was occupied by Great Britain on July 12, 1878. The occupation was effected by virtue of a Convention of Defensive Alliance between Great Britain and Turkey, dated June 4, 1878, and an Annex to the Convention imposed on England the obligation to evacuate Cyprus in the event of the restoration to Turkey by Russia of Kars and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the Russo-Turkish War. On November 5, 1914, by reason of the outbreak of war between his Majesty the King of England and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, an Order in Council was issued annulling the said Convention and Annex and declaring them to be no longer of any force or effect. By the same Order the island was annexed to his Majesty's Dominions, "in order that proper provision may be made for the government and protection of the said island."

The total population of the island was, according to the last census of 1911, 274,108, of whom 214,103 were Greeks and 56,428 Turks. The Government statistics of December 31, 1918, give the total population as 306,997. Four-fifths of this figure are Greeks, having in their hands trade and industries, strongly predominant in agriculture, and forming almost the whole of the professional classes. Strong ties of blood unite them with the Kingdom of Greece. Their whole history pleads eloquently for their Greek nationality. Their languge and religion declare it. Their long traditions attest it. Their habits and customs establish it. Their participation in the struggles, sorrows, and sacrifices of the Hellenic race prove it.

Now, Sir, we venture to say that, with the above facts put as shortly as possible before one, the Cypriote question becomes a very simple one. It really lies in a nutshell and the solution of it is equally plain.

The Greek Cypriotes demand their reunion with Greece. They look to England and to England alone for the realization of this long-cherished ideal of theirs. They respectfully address their demand to England, which emancipated them from the Turkish yoke and which has accustomed them in the path of liberty.

They fully appreciate the tolerant and liberal spirit of English administration, but no one, no Englishman, at any rate, can be ignorant of the cardinal fact that people having national character, national conscience, national ideals, to the extent that the Greek Cypriotes possess them, value union and independence more than any advantage they may derive from a foreign tutelage. With all due respect to Great Britain, the Greek Cypriotes boldly declare that they prefer to face worse—even if that is to be the case—with self-government, under their national flag, than to lead the existence of men under foreign tutelage. They feel, more, that under the motherly care of Greece they will thrive, will prosper, will be happy.

What arguments do the opponents to this national demand of our compatriots advance? Chiefly two. The one is the fate of the Moslem minority in the island, and the other the strategic value which Cyprus is alleged to possess for England. With regard to the first of these arguments, allow us to say that no fair-minded man and critical observer can possibly entertain any serious doubt that the Moslems of Cyprus have nothing to suffer under Greek administration. The condition of their co-religionists in Thessaly, Crete, and Macedonia affords ample precedent in this respect. They enjoy the rights and privileges of full membership in the State, they are employed in the public service, they are elected mayors and Deputies to the Chamber, and the very fact that a number of the Musulmans of the Salonika district have presented to the authorities a petition which expresses their desire to renounce Turkish nationality and remain in Greece speaks volumes for the Greek administration.

With regard to the second argument, that of the strategic value of the island, the war has proved that Cyprus is far from essential to the British Empire as a *place d'armes*. Indeed, it has proved something more important—that the value of the island to England, not only from a military or strategic, but also from a general point of view, is infinitesimal. Any future British interests in the island, however minute and remote the same may be, can easily be secured by an honorable understanding with the Greek Government.

Allow us, Sir, in conclusion, to express our unshaken convic-

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tion, which is fully shared by every one of our compatriots, that Great Britain, true to her traditions and faithful to her history, will meet the claim of justice by the realization of the aspirations of Cyprus for union with Greece.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants, the Cyprus Deputation,

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CYPRUS, CYRILLUS	L. LOUISOU
TH. THEODOTOU	N. NICOLAIDES
PH. ZANNETOS	G. EMFIETZIS
NIC. CL. LANITIS	D. SEVERIS
	N. PASCHALIS

Denikin and Prince Lvov

THAT the reactionary tendencies of General Denikin have been disquieting even to the representatives abroad of the old régime is evident in the following exchange of telegrams between Prince Lvov, president of the Russian Conference in Paris, and Denikin. The texts, originally published in the Kouban newspapers, are reprinted from *l'Humanité* (Paris) for July 12. Prince Lvov telegraphed as follows:

The Russian Conference believes it necessary to inform you that in the Allied countries, as well as in all Europe, the democratic movement makes a strong appeal, and that no government can afford not to reckon with it. The discussion of Russian questions is closely bound up with the civil war in that country. The information which is coming from the south of Russia, from official representatives of the local governments, as well as from statesmen of different views, or agents of the Allies, with reference to the conduct of the command of the volunteer army and the character of its relations with the regional governments, is strengthening the position of the parties that defend Bolshevism here, and creating difficulties for those who can and will help us.

The Russian Conference is powerless to obtain anything here as long as this situation is not taken into consideration there. It is impossible to count on the aid of the Allies as long as the fight against Bolshevism can be considered, not a great national movement, but a partisan war, pursuing the ends of political or social reaction.

For the West, a national movement presupposes the general agreement to postpone the solution of all questions of principle until the convocation of a constituent assembly and the intention to obey it. If this programme were accepted by all, independent of the political form which the future of Russia might take, the movement would necessarily assume a democratic character, and this would induce all the world to take a determined attitude.

Any rumor of conflicts of the military with the civil population, or with the elected local authorities; of the intervention of political considerations in military affairs; and above all of the manifestation of reactionary sympathies—tendencies towards political reaction and the seizure of the lands of the peasants—destroys confidence in the national movement.

We appreciate, and our allies appreciate as highly as we, the heroic fight of the volunteer army, but we are not able to conceal from you that the old confidence in its political aims is already shaken. If your movement has need of any outside assistance, you ought not only in the future to avoid such mistakes, but to establish sincerely friendly relations with the local governments, to attach to your Government popular men, to hold a broad political view, and to accomplish the isolation of Bolshevism in all of Russia.

To this telegram General Denikin replied in the following terms:

Minister Sazonov, Paris.—Please inform Prince Lvov, in answer to his telegram, that I am much interested in the political situation and in the views of the Allied powers concerning their relations with Russia. At the same time, I consider altogether useless any attempt to direct our action on the part of men who have long since left Russia, and who neither know nor understand the conditions under which we pursue the accomplishment of our difficult task, the reconstruction of the state.

Kolchak and the New Russian Republics

THE correspondence between the Council of Five and Admiral Kolchak called forth the following declaration from certain republics which have been formed within the limits of the old Russian Empire. The text is translated from *La Revue Baltique* for July 15.

The undersigned, delegates plenipotentiary of the states formed within the boundaries of the old Russian Empire, to wit:

The Republic of Azerbaidjan; the Republic of Esthonia; the Republic of Georgia; the Republic of Latvia; the Republic of North Caucasia; the Republic of White Russia; the Republic of the Ukraine;

Having taken note of the correspondence exchanged between the Council of the great Allied and Associated Governments and Admiral Kolchak concerning the conditions of the assistance of the said Powers to the Government of Omsk, have the honor to make, in the name of their respective Governments, the following declaration:

1. The Azerbaidjan, Esthonian, Georgian, Lettish, North Caucasian, White Russian, and Ukrainian Republics were formed and exist by the free will of the peoples of these States. The Constitutions of these Republics are in process of drafting, and their reciprocal relations with neighboring states are in process of settlement, and will be determined, by their respective Constituent Assemblies, which have already been or will be elected on the basis of universal suffrage. The decisions of the organs of governmental power in Russia, whatever they may be, cannot, therefore, apply in the slightest degree to the sovereign States, Azerbaidjan, Esthonia, Georgia, Latvia, North Caucasia, White Russia, and the Ukraine; and the reciprocal relations between these States and Russia cannot be regulated otherwise than as between states equal in all independent and sovereign rights, while the above-mentioned correspondence may be interpreted as a negation of such rights.

2. The Republics named in the preamble reiterate before the Peace Conference and the great Powers the request that their political independence be recognized without delay.

(*Signed*) A. M. TOPCHIBACHEV, *President of the Delegation of the Republic of Azerbaidjan;* J. POSKA, *President of the Delegation of Esthonia;* N. CHEIDZE, *President of the Delegation of the Republic of Georgia;* Z. A. MEIEROVICS, *President of the Delegation of Latvia;* A. M. CHERMOEV, *President of the Delegation of the Republic of North Caucasia;* ANTOINE DE LOUTCKEVITCH, *President of the Delegation of the Democratic Republic of White Ruthenia (sic);* G. SIDORENKO, *President of the Delegation of the Republic of the Ukraine.*

The Economic Programme of the C.G.T.

FOLLOWING are the principal points of the economic programme promulgated by the *Confédération Générale de Travail,* as translated from *l'Humanité* for July 23:

The National Committee of the Federation, in extraordinary session on July 21 and 22, urgently demands that the economic policy of the country be inspired by the principles of the Society of Nations, and by that profound truth, "The life of the peoples, dominated for the most part by economic conditions, awaits the improvement of the means of production, exchange, and distribution."

The National Committee of the Federation considers that the

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denial of these principles and of this truth leads to the re-establishment of ancient economic rivalries; that is to say, to economic war, the inevitable engine of military conflagration.

It recalls that the working class of this country has always protested against this policy, which causes it to be today confronted by a frightful crisis, due to the high cost of living.

The National Committee of the Federation, confident of expressing the popular feeling, demands that in the field of production, as well as distribution, the practices of Malthusianiam, imperialism, and economic protectionism be shut out.

That a fair conception of the measures to be taken, and the instrumentalities to be created, should satisfy individual interests only in so far as is compatible with the general interest.

In this spirit the National Committee of the Federation demands the suppression of customs barriers which can only fetter the industrial development necessary to the life and restoration of the country.

That the manufactured products and the raw materials of all countries be enabled to enter France.

That the financial system be changed by the suppression of the system of assignats which has put into circulation forty billions of worthless bank notes without buying power.

That taxes on consumption and taxes which affect wine, sugar, coffee, and the most indispensable foods be abolished.

That a fiscal system be instituted, based on direct taxation on capitalist fortunes and privileges, in order to reëstablish financial equilibrium and to relieve the people of the charges which weigh on them, at the same time giving confidence to foreign countries, putting exchange on a normal course, and replenishing foreign credits.

That production be stimulated and increased in every way; true wealth being the result of labor, all national wealth should be rationally exploited for the benefit of the community, under the influence and control of an organ of general interest, the National Economic Council demanded by the C. G. T.

That the creation of national, departmental, and communal bureaux of food supply be prosecuted.

The country by the sin and ignorance of its rulers has come forth from international economic life, enfeebled in its labor and monetary wealth.

In consequence, the Committee refuses to recognize a government which leaves the working class subject to opprobrium.

It refuses to say to the people of this country that the catastrophe organized by the Government was a conspiracy against it.

It will not be responsible for a political and financial policy which leads our country to ruin.

The National Committee registers the promises made in favor of amnesty and demobilization, as a result of the action of the C. G. T. At the same time it records the raising of the blockade against Germany. Besides the economic measures which it demands, it persists in demanding the same action towards Russia and Hungary which has been taken with regard to Germany—the only condition of making peace with all nations.

. . . . . .

The National Committee of the Federation sends its fraternal greetings to the working-class organizations of other countries and engages to work for the destruction of militarism in all its forms throughout the world.

It declares that the policies of the governments which are actually engaged in hostile acts against the countries on the path of social transformation, and furnishing arms and ammunition to the heads of the counter-revolution, will result, if they are successful, in wiping out for the working classes of those countries the social and political conquests of the revolution, and that they are inspired by the interests of capitalism and of monarchist autocracy.

The Committee moreover declares that it is the duty of the working classes in each country to demand that the military operations against the social republics be stopped, and that the economic blockade against them be immediately raised.

The Committee finally demands that republics be allowed to determine for themselves, without foreign intervention, the forms of government which they wish to adopt, and that these forms be then recognized by the other governments. For this purpose the task of the organizations is to influence their Parliaments, and to exercise an energetic pressure, according to the national situations, on the governmental authorities of the different countries.

Foreign Press

The British Battle-Line

IN explanation of the enormous military expenditure which Great Britain is called upon to make this year for its armies, Mr. Churchill, Secretary for War, made the following statement in the House of Commons concerning the strength and disposition of the British forces. The text is reprinted from *The Times* (London) for August 13.

I am going to address myself in the very short time I will trespass further on the House to some of the more general aspects of Army and Air Force finance. After all, we are the great cause of expenditure now. We are spending £400,000,000 or £500,000,000 in this year after the war has ended. The war may be over, but expenditure at the present time is still governed by events. There were the long delays in making peace with Germany—delays in demobilization of the Army of the Rhine. That demobilization has now begun. I am glad to say that we have arranged with France that by October 31 our forces on the Rhine may be reduced to the dimensions of a strong brigade. (Cheers.)

Mr. LAMBERT (South Molton, L.).—How many men?

Mr. CHURCHILL.—Four thousand or five thousand. Our Air Force will be reduced to the dimensions of a single squadron. The great army we have had to maintain until we compelled our enemy to settle with us will now be demobilized, subject only to the limiting factor of railway transport and sea transport, both of which raise considerable difficulties now when troop movements have to compete with the clamorous demands of the civil population in the reviving countries through which the troops have to pass. There is still the long delay in making peace with Turkey or Bulgaria, which has prevented the dispersal of what is called the Army of the Black Sea.

More than 400,000 German and Turkish prisoners are still on our hands, requiring more than 100,000 British soldiers to look after them and to feed them. Permission to repatriate the Turkish prisoners has now been granted. Permission to repatriate the Germans has been repeatedly sought by the War Office. I regret very much that we have not yet been able to obtain from the Supreme Council the authority to begin that task. Until we can begin to liberate these men, of course, their guards, their feeders, and the transport on which that all depends, have to be maintained. I should think the expense of that far exceeds any advantage which could possibly come from the labor of those prisoners in a productive sense. (Hear, hear.)

We have more than 100,000 men in Mesopotamia, of whom 20,000 are British. Nevertheless there have been several risings, Kurdish and Arab risings, and every attempt to reduce this force—although I am looked upon as the principal mainspring of profligate expenditure, I can assure the House I have made repeated attempts—is met by warnings and protest from the responsible officers on the spot. It is very easy to reduce the force to a point where disaster would occur. (Cheers.) That would throw back fatally the whole process at once of the establishment of order and of demobilization. It is a very serious thing to demand that a force shall be cut down below the limits of what those in the country consider is absolutely safe.

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It does seem, if we are ever to make our administration in Mesopotamia float in an economic sense, that we must contemplate military methods which will enable the country to be kept in good order without burdening it with the enormous charge of an Army of these dimensions. It never would pay if it had to support the expense of an establishment of that size, and the kind of inquiry on which we are now embarked is to see whether, by the use of armored cars, by judicious arrangements of railways and aeroplanes, by tanks of a very fast-moving kind, it is not possible to organize the kind of force which will maintain order in those wild regions without employing a large number of highly-paid British soldiers, as they will be in the future, and burdening the whole province with a charge under which it could never stand erect in an economic sense.

We have more than 90,000 men in Egypt and Palestine. I am asking most urgently that they shall also be reduced to much less than half that figure by the adoption of methods similar to those which I have indicated as appropriate in regard to Mesopotamia. We have 60,000 men in Ireland, whereas we only had 30,000 before the war, but the Irish Executive offer the strongest opposition to any reduction of that force at the present time. It is a matter in which the War Office must be the servant, and not the master, of the interests and policy of the State.

We have at the same time on our hands the Army in India, and also the battalions and batteries which are forming to relieve the Army in India, and which are just beginning to go out. We have also behind them battalions and batteries forming to make the link cadres to feed the new battalions when they have gone out and taken their place as the permanent peace time garrison in India. All that is running at the same time. Until the end of the year, when we can bring home the troops from India, we shall be forced to maintain as it were a duplicate of the Indian garrison at home, preparing to go out. We have to keep more than 100,000 men in France and Flanders on salvage work. I have repeatedly asked to be relieved of that work, which imposes an enormous addition on the Army Estimates, and the fruits of which are not credited to us in any way. The alternative would be either to leave valuable assets rotting on the ground or to raise a temporary civilian, and presumably very expensive, force to look after them, which force could not be raised without competing with all our recruiting for the Voluntary Army, which we are determined to substitute for our present conscript system. We have many thousands of seriously wounded men still in our hospitals above the ordinary sick rate of our Army, and it is, of course, necessary, and it is our duty, to continue to take good care of them.

I could extend this tale were it necessary, but I think I have said enough to show the House the truth of my statement that expenditure at the present time has not yet returned within the controlling domain of policy, but is still governed by brute facts and by the course of events proceeding in many parts of the world as a part of the aftermath of the great war. However angry people may become, the fact remains that our war affairs have got to be wound up. The men have got to be brought home and paid their gratuities—£20,000,000 are being paid this month in gratuities alone—the provinces which have come into our hands have got to be administered and kept in good order; the services of the Empire and the safety of the country have to be maintained, and we have to pay the bill.

Mr. Asquith on Intervention

THE policies of the Coalition Government were severely criticized by Mr. Asquith, former Prime Minister, in a recent speech before the Willesden Liberal Association. We reprint from *The Times* (London) for July 28, that portion of the speech which deals with Russia:

At this moment war—I might almost say a number of wars—is still going on. What I said the other day in private to some of our fellow-workers I will repeat in public here, that the one great menacing and overshadowing figure is the problem of Russia.

I confess to you that I regard with bewilderment and with apprehension the part which this country is playing in that quarter of the world. (Cheers.) We want, the nation wants, the world wants clearer definition than has yet been given to us of our commitments, actual and prospective, there. (Hear, hear.) We are constantly being assured that the forces of the Allies still engaged in that theatre of belligerency are small in number, are always on the decrease, and every now and again on the point of withdrawal. Yet we see month by month the continuing expenditure of British blood and British treasure. (A voice, "Shame.") So far as I can discover, all this time we are doing neither one thing nor the other. Meanwhile, attempts are being made in quarters still not wholly without influence to agitate for an increase both in the scale and in the scope of our intervention. I trust and believe that those attempts will be strenuously and successfully resisted. (Hear, hear.) This, believe me, is not a time when we can afford to embark on crusades for the extermination of what is called Bolshevism. (Hear, hear.)

Whence have we derived any mandate for any such mission? At Paris during these last few months the representatives of the Allies have been paying homage, legitimate and well-merited homage, to the principle of self-determination. That is a principle which is good for great as well as for small communities. It is not for us, if I may presume to say so, it is not for the Allies to take sides in the domestic controversies and the constitutional developments of independent nations. (Hear, hear.) We are quite capable of defending our own interests and those of our Allies if and when they should be attacked. but we have all, I hope, a friendly feeling for the great Russian people, who during the first two years of the war fought manfully and heroically in defence of the cause of freedom, and who are now called on to pass through at home a fiery ordeal of their own. The future Government of Russia is a matter for the Russian people (cheers), and for no one else but the Russian people to decide.

Impressions of Soviet Rule

IN the course of a recent attempt to reach Moscow, Mr. Wm. T. Goode, special correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* on the Esthonian front, travelled many miles through Bolshevist territory. The following account of his experiences appeared in *The Guardian* for July 21:

I send through Reval the bare outlines of my attempt to reach Moscow with two other men, which ended at Velike Luke, one train stage from Moscow, where we were turned back through what I believe to be the incredible folly of our leader, a Finn. It was a trying experience, but very useful, and I hope the next attempt will be completely successful. Finding difficulty at Pskoff we returned to Isborski, got to the lines with much toil, crossed, and were sent to Ostrov, Rezhitsa, and finally Velike Luke. Going and returning we crossed over a good half of the government of Pskoff. We passed through the outpost lines and brigade and divisional headquarters, stayed in one town, and travelled on foot, by lurry, by horse, and used the railway for hundreds of versts. I talked to commissaries, officers, soldiers, *istvostchiks*, peasants, and women. For nine days we were prisoners of the Bolsheviks, yet we were treated with the greatest consideration.

The soldiers in this sector were mostly Communists, and were in hard condition, well fed, equipped, and armed. The officers of the outpost company and the brigade were men of the intellectual class, with the manners of gentlemen and the sympathetic consideration of men of the world. To us, who had

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dropped on them from the clouds, they were kindly, even generous, and they were intensely amused at the opinion of them held by the Western world. No British officer could have behaved better, and the responsibility for our failure does not lie at their door.

Discipline seemed weak at the outpost, but an attack was made while we were there, and in a few minutes every man was at his post without comment. Elsewhere the discipline was stiffer, and the old military tribunals are re-established. Men conscripted from the land go unwillingly, and are the weak spot in the Bolshevik army, which yet contains two million well-trained men.

Food in Pskoff is bad and very dear, but elsewhere the people are not in bad condition, in spite of food prices, and beggars are no more numerous than in pre-war days. The story that the peasants refuse to work the land is in this sector quite untrue. The crops are vast, in excellent order, and nearly ripe. There is clearly resentment among the peasants, but they work even in the lines with complete indifference. In Ostrov the bourgeois are hostile, but submit, and all work for the Soviet.

The railways are well managed, and the permanent way and stations are in good order. The rolling stock and engines are worn, but carefully mended and used. Military traffic amounts to 95 per cent. of the whole. It is a triumph of organization, pointing to able and constructive administration both of the railways and the military. The private shops in Ostrov are largely closed, but there are two stores of the Soviet, formerly co-operative stores. A bath costs nothing. The theatre is open, and is packed with townsfolk.

The whole appearance of this countryside is so different from the fantastic descriptions given in the West that the shock of disillusion is great. The general impression I gained is that the governing administration is a strongly organized Communistic system, changing according to force of circumstances. The weak points are the land question and the unwilling conscripts, but the ring of enemies only stiffens the internal resistance and helps Bolshevism. Petrograd will never be taken by the North Russian Corps nor Moscow by Kolchak or Denikin.

Danube Federation: An Italian View

THE *Cambridge Magazine* for August 9 reprints from *Il Resto del Carlino* (Bologna) the following quotations and summary of an editorial on a possible federation of Danubian states.

"Italy has done very well to refuse her help to armed intervention against Hungary. . . . It is not improbable that the horror of Bolshevism plays a very small part in the desires of those who would like to see Hungary again defeated by arms. Some papers even admit that Hungarian Bolshevism, even more than Russian, is not antagonistic to a national, if not a nationalist evolution; they hold that it is precisely this evolution which must be prevented, because it would inevitably induce Hungary, like Russia, to gravitate into the orbit of Germany. This . . . is one of the motives which impel the French to insist on intervention. The main aim, however much it may be dissimilated, is the desire to suppress in Hungary what may eventually be the strongest obstacle to the resurrection of Austro-Hungary under the form of a Danubian Federation. It would be a great mistake to imagine that France has renounced this old, patently anti-German design, which is also anti-Italian." . . . France sees that the only means of realising her design is by the help of Danubian and Baltic friends. Her Austrian policy is dictated by the same scheme. In commenting on the Austrian peace-terms the main desire formulated was "to keep Austria in a state of want and subjection so as to be able to permanently obstruct her annexation to Germany and slowly lead the Entente to the federation of the other Danubian States. But at this point more precise and concrete indications begin to appear. In the *Ceske Slovo*, the organ of the national Socialists, the deputy Svozil undertakes a violent campaign in favour of an 'Eastern League,' which is to comprise Rumania, Poland, Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, and eventually Hungary 'liberated from Bolshevism.' At the same time the real motive for Hungarian intervention is revealed. The real author of this project is probably Take Jonescu . . . a creature and an instrument of French policy . . . associated not only with the Greeks, but also with the Jugoslavs, and thus an adherent of an absolutely anti-Italian policy. Apart from this, there exists another plan of one Kunsel, who was an Austrian diplomat, and who adopted Czech nationality, and is now a military attaché of Bohemia at Sofia. He also is working on account of the Czecho-Slovaks, Serbia, and France for a union of the kind proposed by Take Jonescu, in which Bulgaria is substituted for Rumania. Bulgaria is promised the Dobrudja, so as to attract her to the combination. This second plan, which completely sacrifices Rumania, is perhaps preferable, because it settles the Banat question in favour of Jugoslavia. This plan also postulates a Hungary 'freed from Bolshevism!' At any rate, both of them aspire to form a group, which should extend from the Baltic with Poland, and will extend to the Black Sea, with Rumania and Bulgaria. As far as Italy is concerned, it will be a resurrection of the Austro-Hungarian Empire enlarged by the Czech and Jugoslav predomination, that is to say, absolutely hostile to her. . . . It will not suffice for Italy simply to refuse her coöperation or even obstruct the intervention of others. She must have a policy of her own. Now, it is clear that to count on a perpetual division of the Balkans and Danubian states is extremely dangerous. . . . The wisest policy would be to facilitate a grouping on somewhat different lines than those opposed to us. . . . The dominating position should be held by Rumania; but, naturally, not by the Rumania of Signor Take Jonescu."

Czech Foreign Policy

THE Czecho-Slovak *Korrespondenz* publishes an official statement of Czech foreign policy, here reprinted in a *précis* made by *The Cambridge Magazine* from the *Neue Freie Presse* of July 15:

. . . The belief appears to prevail in certain circles among us that our alliance with the Entente implied and still implies certain military and political obligations; that we stand in a certain relation of dependence, and that we are an instrument of one or other of the great states. There could be no greater misconception. . . . We look upon it rather as an alliance of effort, ideas and aims which may lead to the mutual protection of our existence against the enemy. . . . The Entente, which is victorious, has financially and economically the whole world in its grasp, and we also will depend entirely on this financial and economic constellation. Apart from the great Allied *bloc*, there are two other great *blocs*, the Teutonic and Russian. . . . The trend of our policy towards (them) cannot be set down definitely today. It is to our interest . . . to conduct a loyal, "correct" and conciliatory policy with regard to Germany, but at the same time, . . . to cultivate in our foreign policy a tradition which must never permit that it become an instrument in the hands of a neighbor and (so) forfeit its freedom and the possibility of making use diplomatically of the international constellation. . . . We all like Russia very much, and our policy will always tend towards an alliance of friendship with the Russian people. . . . It is self-evident that our relations with the Jugoslavs must continue friendly as before. Today, Italy's foreign policy is a dilatory one, it does not know whether to remain true to the policy of the Entente or to seek a *rapprochement* with those elements which stood in the enemy camp. It is not at all to the interest of our Republic to drive Italy by its attitude into the enemy camp, when Italy might make use against us of possible conflicts with our former enemies. We are, therefore, left with

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the only policy of showing Italy, without any sort of overhaste that we desire a friendly and loyal alliance. . . . such as she knit with us in the course of the war. Our relations with Rumania and Poland must be cultivated in such wise that we can be quite sure that no danger threatens us from that side but that we can count on peaceful, orderly coöperation. . . .

Our whole foreign policy must . . . be clear and precise. Prague must become the diplomatic centre of the whole of Central Europe, and this it will also become. This means that the significance of Vienna and Budapest must be considerably reduced, and that the aim of our national policy must be to gain political and economic ascendancy over both. But it must here be realized that it is not intended to destroy Vienna altogether. Vienna must be a centre of a sort, *ein bestimmtes Zentrum*, and it is the Western Powers in particular whose interest it is that Vienna should retain a certain limited significance. This means that we must in any case reckon with Vienna, as with a certain political factor, and it is to our interest to realize this in time. As to the Magyars, if they entertain a loyal policy towards us, we will endeavour not only to meet it with equal loyalty but also to draw closer to them to a certain extent.

Unrest in Alsace-Lorraine

MILITARY measures for the punishment of troublesome French citizens of Alsace-Lorraine are quoted in the following extract from *l'Humanité* of July 16:

Citizen Grumbach spoke on Sunday, before the National Council, of the order issued recently at Strasbourg by M. Millerand, a decree under which any citizen of Alsace-Lorraine who notably appeared to be an element of disorder would be immediately turned over to the military authorities.

This abominable decree, whose existence Grumbach thus revealed, is now known in its entirety. It is to be found in *The Official Bulletin of Upper Alsace*, No. 25, June 21, 1919. Its title is *Decree Relative to Citizens of Alsace-Lorraine in Renewable Detachment* (*sic*). Order is given to the municipalities to draw up lists of citizens of Alsace-Lorraine in renewable detachment.

And here is what Article 2 of this strange decree says:

1. Every citizen of Alsace-Lorraine whose class has not yet been demobilized in France, and who notably appears to be a disorderly element, shall be immediately, upon the order of the Commandant of the District, arrested by the police and turned over to the military authorities.

His papers will be sent by the Commandant to the commanding general of the territory, who, after inquiry, will command the return of the arrested man:

To his old organization if he was a volunteer in the French army;

To the Alsace-Lorraine depot in Paris if he is a former prisoner of the Allied armies, or a liberated German soldier.

2. Citizens of Alsace-Lorraine whose class has been demobilized in France.

Any of these men who notably appears to be a disorderly element shall be arraigned by request of the Commissaries of the Republic before the *Commission de Triage* under the same classification as undesirable civilian citizens of Alsace-Lorraine.

Strasbourg, 24 May, 1919.

Commissary General of the Republic,
A. MILLERAND.

After this, who can be scandalized by the vehement criticisms directed at the National Council by Grumbach, against the state of siege and of arbitrary rule which the Government of the Republic imposes upon Alsace-Lorraine? Does M. Clemenceau, that "old liberatarian" know the decree of Millerand? In any case it is important to know that this decree is not aimed at the Germans residing in Alsace-Lorraine, but at the citizens of Alsace-Lorraine of Category A, those indisputably French. Incredible, yet true!

Notes

THE DESBOROUGH COMMITTEE, which has been investigating the grievances of the London police, has submitted several main proposals, as a preliminary to its detailed report. The most important recommendations are a wage of seventy shillings to ninety shillings weekly for constables, and one hundred shillings to one hundred and twelve shillings for sergeants, increases of pay to be retroactive as from April 1, 1919; the provision rent free of quarters, or the grant of equivalent allowances; uniform acceptance of the eight-hour day with overtime pay; and a pension scheme providing for half pay after twenty-five years' service, and two-thirds pay after thirty years' service. The Committee also strongly recommends that a greater degree of standardization be attempted as regards pay, allowances, pensions, and conditions of service generally. The Committee has still to consider the questions of promotion, recruiting, training, discipline, leave, and the merging of the smaller borough forces into the county forces.

SPEAKING in the House of Lords on August 12, Mr. Winston Churchill announced the discontinuance of the weekly *Review of the Foreign Press*. During the early part of the war the *Review of the Foreign Press* was issued as a daily survey of all the important newspapers published in the Allied, enemy, and neutral countries. Later it was issued in five weekly supplements, Allied, Neutral, and Enemy Press Supplements, a Reconstruction Supplement, and an Economic Supplement. Recently a plan was announced of printing Political, Economic, Technical, and Food and Supply Reviews, covering Europe, America, and the Pacific. Of this enterprise, Mr. Churchill said: ". . . this is an organization which has done most excellent work," but ". . . we simply cannot afford to keep [it] going at present."

BY an act which passed the Polish Diet at Warsaw on July 4, the government is empowered to expropriate the owners of large estates, in order to create small properties. Since sixty per cent. of the Polish population is agrarian, the right of the State over private property has been the center of Parliamentary interest during the past few months. The present act does not provide any specific manner in which the expropriation is to be carried out, but several suggestions have been made, among them a plan to limit individual properties to 400 acres, and to exempt from the law land connected with industries of national importance. Further legislation will be necessary to determine the administration of the law, but in any case, owners of large estates will not be affected immediately, since the government has about 6000 square miles of land at its disposal which is to be parcelled out to small landowners before private estates are divided.

ACCORDING to a recent dispatch reprinted by the *Narodnaya Gazeta* from the *Soldat-Grazhdanin*, a Russian paper published in Paris, the new Georgian Republic has introduced far-reaching land reforms. All land belonging to the crown, convents, or private owners has been confiscated by the State, with the exception of vineyards, tobacco plantations, etc., not exceeding nineteen acres; arable land not exceeding forty acres; and pasture land not exceeding 108 acres. The confiscated land will be distributed among the landless peasants, either in the form of communal property or of private property obtainable at moderate prices. All pasture land becomes communal property. All forests remain the property of the Government. The distribution of the land is entrusted to the *Zemstvos*, which are also granted certain privileges in buying the land, and are commissioned to assist the population of the villages in buying seeds and agricultural implements, issuing books on rural economy, and in other matters pertaining to agriculture.

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